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THE PICTURES ON DIDO'S TEMPLE

(*Aeneid* 1. 450-93)

SHORTLY after his arrival at Carthage, while he is waiting for Dido to meet him, Aeneas finds that the walls of her temple are adorned with pictures of the Trojan War. *Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi*, he cries to Achates, *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*. The description of the pictures which follows is a remarkable example of Virgil's ability to use a traditional device (ἐκφρασις) in such a way as to strengthen and illuminate the main themes of his poem. It is my object here first to reinterpret one of the scenes which has been misunderstood, and then to discuss how Virgil has chosen and arranged his episodes so that the description of a picture gallery becomes a part of an epic poem.

The pictures which Virgil describes are these: first a general scene of battle with the Greeks in flight, then a similar scene with the Trojans in flight and Achilles pursuing; next, four particular episodes ending at a climax, Rhesus, Troilus, the supplication to Pallas, the ransoming of Hector's body; finally a pendant concerned with pictures of Aeneas himself, of Memnon, of Penthesilea. In the central series the episode of Troilus, which is not Homeric, seems strangely inserted among three very prominent episodes of the *Iliad*, and it has also presented difficulties of interpretation. It is therefore with this scene that we must begin.

(a) THE TROILUS EPISODE

Aen. 1. 474-8

Parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,
fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur
per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.

It is generally thought that this picture represents the outcome of an armed combat deliberately sought by Troilus, in the course of which Troilus *amissit arma* (whatever that means), and having in flight fallen from his chariot is being dragged along with his spear trailing behind him. Servius evidently felt unhappy about this: on *hasta* his comment is 'hostili scilicet'. He presumably thought that Troilus, *amissis armis*, could not still have his spear. Modern critics have rightly refused to accept that the spear is Achilles' spear with which Troilus is transfixed.¹ For there is nothing in the passage to suggest that it is Achilles' spear; and, as Heyne gently says, if Virgil had meant Achilles' spear, he would have expressed himself otherwise. In any case Achilles' spear could not be *versa*. Servius recognized this objection to his interpretation, and was prepared to take *versa* from *vertere*; but this makes no sense, and in Conway's words 'Virgil never sets his readers such a trap'. The decisive argument against Servius is *Aen.* 9. 609 f., the use of the 'reversed spear' as a goad,

¹ Achilles does in fact kill Troilus with a spear in some versions of the story (Stat. *Silv.* 2. 6. 32 f., Eustath. on *Il.* 24. 257); the

imitations of the passage (applied to other warriors) in Stat. *Th.* 10. 544 f., *Sil.* 4. 254 f. have nothing decisive.

versaue iuvenum / terga fatigamus hasta. If then it is Troilus' spear which trails, how do we overcome Servius' difficulty? Modern critics mostly do it by referring *armis* to his shield only: Heyne says *clipeo ex manu dimisso*, Wagner *clipeo, nam hastam tenebat*, Forbiger *de solo clypeo intelligendum*, Lejay 'ses armes défensives, son bouclier', Mackail 'his armour flung away in flight', Conway 'perhaps only the shield is meant . . . in that case his spear may have been still in his hand, not merely entangled in his fall'. This would be odd Latin, and a strange and unsatisfactory picture of armed combat.

But what reason is there in the Virgil passage to think of armed combat? The phrase *amissis armis* refers to some event which occurred before the moment of the picture; in the picture Troilus is portrayed without his *arma*. One of the natural meanings of the phrase would refer to defensive¹ armour (*πλα*—shield, helmet, and greaves), and this seems to me strongly supported by the words *huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur / per terram*. Troilus is not wearing a helmet,² and obviously he has not lost it during armed combat with Achilles in a chariot. It seems that he was unarmed when he met Achilles. If this is accepted, we still have not the evidence to explain the circumstances in which Troilus has lost his armour; we may make conjectures in the light of the legend, to which I now turn.

In Homer (*Il.* 24. 257) the sole mention of Troilus is when Priam laments that Ares has left him not one of his sons alive, not Mestor, not Troilus, not Hector. From Proclus' abstract of the *Cypria* we hear that it was Achilles who killed Troilus. In the tiny extant fragments of Sophocles' *Troilus* there is not much added, but there is an important reference to this play by the scholiast on Hom. *Il.* 24. 257. He says that in it Sophocles told of Troilus ambushed and killed by Achilles while exercising his horses at the Thymbraeum.³ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τρωίῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν λοχηθῆναι (emended from ὀχευθῆναι) ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλεύως ἵππους γυμνάζοντα παρὰ τὸ Θυμβραῖον καὶ ἀποθανεῖν. This scene of ambush is frequently portrayed in Greek art.⁴ The most common representation is of Troilus on horseback, unarmed, ambushed by Achilles in full armour when he had come to a spring to water his horses. He is often accompanied by Polyxena with a pitcher.⁵ There are also fairly frequent representations in art

¹ Varro, *De L.L.* 5. 115 *arma ab arcendo, quod his arcemus hostem*; other Roman grammarians differentiate between *arma* and *tela* (see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v. *arma*). Of course the word very often means fighting equipment of all sorts, but we can fairly say that it is at least as likely to mean 'armour' as to mean 'weapons'.

² I should not press this point far if we were concerned with rapidly changing and eventful narrative; a poet who describes many related scenes in quick succession may not remember, or be concerned to remember, whether a warrior when last mentioned was wearing a helmet, or had two spears or one, or was accompanied by a charioteer or alone. But I do stress it very strongly in this case where Virgil is describing one single scene only, one picture whose visual impact is not blurred by actions leading up to it or away from it.

³ See Pearson's Intro. to the fragments of Sophocles' *Troilus*, and Roscher and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Troilos*. Mayer in Roscher regards Virgil's version as confused, but rightly denies that Virgil altered the legend so as to portray an armed combat. Lesky in P.-W. argues that Virgil followed an already existing legend involving armed combat, but the evidence for this is very faint indeed compared with the unarmed tradition.

⁴ See, apart from Roscher and P.-W., P. N. Ure, *J.H.S.* lxxi (1951), 198 f. (on the Troilus vase in Reading University) and L. Banti, *Stud. Etr.* xxiv (1955-6), 143 f. (on the Etruscan paintings on the Tomba dei Tori).

⁵ It is noticeable that the literary evidence always tells of Troilus ambushed while exercising his horses; it knows nothing of Polyxena and the spring, so frequent in art.

of the next scene, when Troilus is carried to the altar of Apollo and there killed (so Lycophron, *Alex.* 307 f.).

There was then a very strong Greek tradition that Troilus was ambushed when unarmed, and it is evident that this was current in Virgil's time.¹ On the other hand, there is no trace before Virgil of the chariot of Troilus; it seems that Virgil may have adopted the idea of being dragged behind a chariot from the story of Hector.² There are remarkably few references to Troilus in extant Latin literature,³ and by the time of Dares (fifth century?) the legend has changed very considerably. The episode is now put later than the death of Hector,⁴ and in it Troilus is a formidable warrior who has deliberately sought armed combat, has wounded Achilles, and only been killed by him after his own horse had been wounded (not by Achilles) and he had become entangled in the reins (Dares 30 f., esp. 33). Virgil has evidently had some influence on the later version (as would be expected), but except from a misunderstanding of the passage there is nothing in Virgil to suggest deliberate armed combat,⁵ and the legend of the warrior Troilus is essentially associated with the placing of the episode after the death of Hector, which is patently not the case in Virgil.

There are additional reasons for believing that Virgil follows the traditional story of the ambush, some important, some less so. It might be said that the absence of a charioteer for Troilus (*lora tenens tamen*) suggests that he did not deliberately go out to fight, but rather that he was driving his chariot for some unwarlike purpose and unluckily came upon Achilles; it might be said that *infelix puer* suggests not the rash youth trusting too much in his self-confidence, but rather the hapless victim. But the two really important points, as we shall see, are firstly that the death of Troilus was one of the fated 'dooms' of Troy and it would be wholly out of place for Troilus himself deliberately to jeopardize his country's safety; and secondly that the Troilus episode, put next to the story of Rhesus, indicates increasingly the ruthlessness of the Greek enemy—the warrior Rhesus slain in his sleep, the boy Troilus caught defenceless by Achilles. *Accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno / disce omnes.*

We can then interpret the Virgilian passage as follows: at a stage prior to the scene actually pictured Troilus has been caught by Achilles while he was occupied in some activity during which he was not wearing his armour. We

¹ The evidence from Roman art suggests it (see P.-W., *ad fin.*), though it is much less clear than the Greek evidence. It occurs too in Greek writers of the Roman period, Apollodorus (*Epit.* 3. 32) and Dio Chrysostom (11. 77–78). The latter specifically links the death of Troilus with the early period of the war, when the Greeks were not in possession of much of the Troad; for otherwise 'Troilus would never have ventured outside the walls for exercise'.

² Conceivably the Greek pictures of Troilus riding one horse and leading another alongside may have given Virgil the idea of a chariot-team.

³ From the first century we may note Sen. *Agam.* 747 f. (an echo of Virgil) *nimum cito / congresse Achilli Troile*, Stat. *Silv.* 2. 6. 32 f.

circum saevi fugientem moenia Phoebi / Troilon Haemoniae deprensit lancea dextrae, *Silv.* 5. 2. 121 f. *Troilus haud aliter gyro brevior minantes / eludebat equos* (evidently an echo of Virgil's chariot).

⁴ So in Ausonius (*Epit.* 18), in a passage full of Virgilian reminiscence: *Hectore prostrato, nec dis nec viribus aequis / congressus saevo Troilus Aecidae, / raptatus bigis, fratris coniungor honori*. Dictys (4. 9) also puts the event after the death of Hector; Quintus of Smyrna (4. 430 f.) implies deliberate armed combat. Servius (on 1. 474) has a variant on the erotic element in the story as told by Lycophron.

⁵ Lesky in P.-W. thinks that the word *congressus* is significant, but it need mean no more than 'coming up against', 'meeting'.

do not know what this was. We might guess that he came out in his armour to exercise his horses; thinking himself safe he took off his armour and was then ambushed by Achilles. At all events in the picture on the wall Troilus is without his armour, and thus defenceless is trying to get away, *fugiens amissis Troilus armis*. His horses are running away with him, like those of the charioteer in *Geo.* 1. 514 *fertur equis auriga nec audit currus habenas*. He has fallen out backwards from his chariot, perhaps wounded, perhaps because one of his horses has been wounded and cannot be controlled. But he still grasps the reins, still tries to regain control. He is not yet dead, as Servius and others have suggested; his skill is in horsemanship (*ἵππιοχάρμης*, *Hom. Il.* 24. 257), and at the last, in spite of all (*tamen*), he still hangs on. In this piece of the description Virgil is thinking partly perhaps of *Soph. El.* 746 f. and *Eur. Hipp.* 1236 f. (where the drivers are dragged behind their chariots), but especially of *Il.* 22. 401-3 (Hector's corpse, stripped of the armour, dragged behind Achilles' chariot)

τοῦ δ' ἦν ἐλκομένοιο κονίσσαλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίται
κυνάεαι πίνναντο, κάρη δ' ἅπαν ἐν κονίῃσι
κεῖτο πάρος χαρίεν.

This is the source of Virgil's *huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur / per terram*.

The final touch in the picture, the dust scored by the reversed spear, adds an idea of motion to the static picture by giving a sort of 'wake' to the movement of the chariot. There is now no contradiction between *hasta* and *amissis armis*, whether we consider that Troilus had just time to seize his spear as he leapt into his chariot to escape, or whether (as seems much more likely) he was already in his chariot carrying a spear which he was using reversed as a goad (like the Rutulians in *Aen.* 9. 609 f. quoted above; in Greek art the otherwise unarmed Troilus is sometimes shown carrying a spear or a goad). As he fled he had the spear in one hand while he held the reins in the other (having no shield to occupy the use of one hand). When he fell backwards the spear, still held in his hand, trailed with the *point* on the ground. This is the only legitimate meaning here of *versa hasta*, which is sometimes wrongly taken to indicate that the dust was scored with the butt-end of the spear. The normal position of a spear is pointing forwards, in the direction of motion; when it is *versa* it has the butt-end forward, and therefore when it trails it scores the dust with its point. The unwarlike intentions and utter helplessness of Troilus are thus symbolized in this final phrase.

(b) VIRGIL'S SELECTION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE EPISODES

This series of pictures on Dido's temple is the first sustained account in the *Aeneid* of events in the Trojan War, the final stages of which are soon to be so powerfully described in *Aeneid* 2. The setting of the passage is made very emphatic by the stress laid on the profound effect which the pictures have on Aeneas (lines 450-65), and the description itself is integral with the main theme of the poem because of its subject-matter and because of the relationship of the pictures to one another. In this respect it is comparable with the description of Aeneas' shield at the end of Book 8, and quite different from a simple decorative *ἐκφράσις* like the pictures of Ganymede on the cloak in *Aen.* 5. 252 f.

It has often been noticed that the pictures are in pairs: (i) the Greeks flee, the Trojans flee; (ii) death of Rhesus, death of Troilus; (iii) supplication of the Trojan women, supplication of Priam; (iv) Memnon's Eastern armies,

Penthesilea's Amazons. Again, we can observe contrasts, between war scenes and scenes of supplication, between general war scenes and particular war scenes. We can see that Homeric episodes are models for the Rhesus scene and the two supplication scenes, and that all the incidents selected for portrayal have a vivid pictorial impact. But all these aspects of choice and arrangement are subordinate to the main purpose, which is the relationship of the pictures to the motifs of the poem.

The passage begins (466) with general scenes of warfare, showing first the Trojans dominant and then the Greeks, with the threatening figure of Achilles prominent. Then follow the four scenes of the central block, leading to the climax expressed at 485 (*tum vero ingentem gemitum . . .*), and the description is concluded with three pictures of less intense emotional significance.¹

The central block is conceived as a portrayal of the *fata Troiana*, the series of divine omens, portents, and prophecies associated with the doom of the city. Running alongside this theme is the theme of Greek ruthlessness, the *perfidia* and *crudelitas* of the enemy as seen by Aeneas and described with such force in *Aeneid* 2. Let us look at the four episodes in the light of this double motif, *fata Troiana* and Greek cruelty.

The death of Rhesus illustrates how Greek ruthlessness prevented the salvation of Troy. If the horses of Rhesus had cropped the grass of Troy and drunk from the river Xanthus (which they so nearly did but for the night ambush of Diomedes and Ulysses) then it was fated that Troy would not fall, and the sovereign city of Asia would still have been standing. This well-known aspect of the story of Rhesus is made explicit in lines 472-3 *prius quam / pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent*. Equally explicit is the cruelty of the slaughter of sleeping men (470-1) *primo quae prodita somno / Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus*.

The death of Troilus (not, as we have seen, an obvious subject to include) illustrates the same two themes. The story was that if Troilus lived to the age of twenty Troy could not be taken (*Myth. Vatic.* 1. 210 *Troilo dictum erat quod si ad annos xx pervenisset Troia everti non potuisset*). Virgil does not make the oracular connexion of Troilus' fate explicit, but as he had done this with Rhesus he could expect the reader to be ready to do the same with Troilus. The story seems to have been well known, for in Plautus' *Bacchides* (in a passage probably based on Menander's *Δις ἐξαμαρτών*) it is mentioned as one of the three 'dooms' of Troy (953 f. *Illo tria fuisse audiui fata, quae illi forent exitio . . .*). The cruelty of Achilles' behaviour in killing his unarmed victim is reinforced by Virgil's comment *infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli*, and by the sorrow in the lines which follow, so typical of Virgil's sorrow over youthful death; the incident therefore portrays a worse example of cruelty than the death of Rhesus.

After the two human illustrations of the doom of Troy there follows the divine embodiment of this doom, the hostile Pallas Athena, the champion of the Greeks.² The hopelessness of the Trojan supplication is made evident, and the cruelty of the goddess is shown in her epithet (*non aequae*) and in the unmoved enmity of the cold and terrifying line *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*.

These three pictures then are the fates, the causes, the themes; and there

¹ The emotional structure and intensity of the passage has been well discussed by Th. Plüss, *J.K.Ph.* (1875), pp. 639-42.

² It is possible that a mental association

can here be made with the loss of the *Palladium* (*Aen.* 2. 166), another of the three 'dooms' of Troy mentioned in the passage from Plautus cited above.

follows the event, the death of Hector and the final certainty of the doom of Troy. It comes with an impact of inevitability; the actual death and ignominious treatment of the body have already occurred (the pluperfect tense is used), and the picture shows one aspect of the consequence, the sale of the body for gold. In two ways Virgil departs from the Homeric version, in order to emphasize the cruelty of Achilles: in Homer Hector was dragged around the tomb of Patroclus, but Virgil adopts the later and even more disgraceful version that he was dragged around the walls of his own now helpless town. Again, in *Iliad* 24 Achilles shows himself human before Priam; here he is coldly inhuman—*auro corpus vendebat*. This scene is the climax of Greek cruelty as well as of Trojan doom.

Virgil emphasizes this climax with the words *tum vero ingentem gemitum . . .*, and concludes it with the person of the old king Priam; it is a climax already foreshadowed for us by the mention of Priam in lines 458 and 461. The story of Troy's doom culminates here in the pictures, as it had in the *Iliad*.

As the central block had its introduction, both in the summary description of 456-8 and in Aeneas' few words in 459 f., so now it has its pendant telling of other pictures which illustrate events after the death of Hector. If we ask why the description does not end at its climax, we shall find much of the answer by relating the descriptive episode to the narrative technique of the poem. The tension has to be lessened for the transition to Dido's appearance. We must be brought away from the heart of Troy's tragedy, symbolized in Hector and Priam, by a *diminuendo* effect, still relevant but less intense. This is done by the three scenes of later events in the war. First is Aeneas himself, fighting in the forefront among the Greek leaders as had been prophesied (*Il.* 20. 332 f.), and as it was appropriate that he should when Hector was dead (*Il.* 5. 467 f.). This brief mention of Aeneas himself prepares us for Dido's *Tunc ille Aeneas . . . ?* (617), and also serves a psychological purpose, as we shall see. Then there come two heroes of the post-*Iliad* period of the war, who did not fight at Troy until after the death of Hector, with whom Quintus of Smyrna began his *Posthomericæ*. They are both exotic and romantic figures, but neither of them causes the emotional reaction in Aeneas which had been caused by the four scenes of the central block. They bring the description to a close with a kind of half-unreal splendour, Memnon the strange king of distant lands, and Penthesilea, the semi-mythical Amazon warrior. We are reminded of how Virgil ends the catalogue in *Aeneid* 7 with the warrior-maid Camilla.

Finally, we should consider the relationship in this passage between art and literature, between the pictures and the poem in which they are described. Virgil does not give us a catalogue or a series of photographs of these mural paintings, but an impression of their effect on Aeneas; much of the unity of the themes which I have been discussing is a unity imposed by the observer (Aeneas) upon the series of the pictures. We are left with the feeling that Aeneas is recollecting it afterwards; that the pictures are coming to us through the mind of the beholder, coloured and interpreted by his own emotions. This effect is strengthened by the constant mention of Aeneas: he is very prominent in our minds before the beginning of the description, he is mentioned at the beginning (*namque videbat uti . . .*), then at 470 (*agnoscit lacrimans*), and then at the climax (*tum vero ingentem gemitum . . .*). This is immediately followed by the picture of Aeneas himself among these events—*'quaque ipse miserrima vidi / et quorum pars magna fui'*; he himself is placed here in the series immediately after

the climax to reinforce the subjective element in the interpretation of the tragic pictures, and to detach the diminuendo ending of Memnon and Penthesilea, who were not so closely connected with Aeneas personally. We notice too a subtle interrelationship of time and space: Aeneas is walking past the pictures—*ex ordine* (456), *nec procul hinc* (469), *parte alia* (474), yet the word *interea* (479) suddenly transforms the pictures into events, and three times we hear of aspects of events which are not portrayed in the pictures, indicated by different tense usage: *vastabat . . . avertit* (471–2), *amissis armis* (474), *rapta-verat . . . vendebat* (483–4). The ἐκφρασις has been made real by the personal interpretation of the pictures; it is a story as well as an art gallery.¹

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¹ I am much indebted to Mrs. A. D. Ure and Mr. A. E. Wardman for their help in discussing with me many aspects of this article.

EUNAPIUS, AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, AND ZOSIMUS ON JULIAN'S PERSIAN EXPEDITION

IN a recent article,¹ Dr. A. F. Norman has attributed to Eunapius the authorship of a fragment in Suidas (Adler A 2094 s.v. *ἀνασχοῦσα*), which clearly relates to the siege of Maiozamalcha. His arguments are cogent and must, I think, be accepted. Some slight additional support for the attribution is provided by the fact that it contains the adverb *διαφερόντως* of which, as Vollebregt pointed out,² Eunapius was particularly fond. Norman compares this fragment with the relevant passages in Ammianus Marcellinus (24. 4. 23) and Zosimus (3. 22. 4) and points out that if the attribution is correct, 'now, and for the first time, we have a reference to the same incident of this campaign from the narratives of Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus'. He comes to the conclusion that Zosimus was making use of Eunapius, who in turn based his account on the *ὑπόμνημα* of Oribasius, and that Zosimus corrected the general narrative of Eunapius 'in details which to some extent agree with Ammianus'. Later he points out that, 'If Zosimus used Eunapius and corrected him as here, the idea of Eunapius' direct or indirect dependence upon Ammianus may also be discarded, and we are in a fair way towards explaining the numerous discrepancies of proper names and military movements which exist in the narratives of Ammianus and Zosimus. Most of Zosimus' mistakes are due to the errors of Eunapius or Oribasius, for which no alternative details were available to him.' Norman is not certain about the source from which Zosimus corrected Eunapius and ends his article with the remark: 'If . . . Ammianus is to be relied upon and Zosimus had access to the information to be found in him, Zosimus' conduct here is almost inexplicable, since he but half corrects a point of detail and leaves so much undone.'

If it is accepted, this attribution must be considered in any future discussion of the relationship between Zosimus and Ammianus, but it is clear that it does not by any means solve all the problems involved. If the discrepancies arise from Zosimus' use of Eunapius and so of Oribasius, how are we to account for the similarities which are often striking? Did Zosimus in fact make use of Ammianus in order to correct Eunapius?

Some scholars have attempted to explain the similarities in the accounts of Ammianus and Zosimus by postulating a common source. Sudhaus maintained³ that the *ὑπομνήματα* [*sic*] of Oribasius were *offizielle Kriegsberichte* written at the request of Julian and that they were consulted not only by Eunapius but by Ammianus also. Mendelssohn, in his edition of Zosimus⁴ pointed out that Eunapius' reference to Oribasius (fr. 8)⁵ indicates that the memoir was

¹ 'Magnus in Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus: New Evidence', *C.Q.* n.s. vii (1957), 129-33.

² *Symbola in novam Eunapii Vitarum editionem* (Amsterdam, 1929), p. 111.

³ *De ratione quae intercedat inter Zosimi et Ammiani de bello a Iuliano imperatore cum Persis*

gesto relationes (Bonn, 1870), pp. 89 ff.

⁴ Leipzig, 1887, p. xxxix.

⁵ Eunapius' historical fragments are to be found in Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, iv. 11-56, and Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*, i. 207-74.

a work intended for his sole use and could not also have been available to Ammianus. This view, although contested by Laqueur,¹ has, I think rightly, been generally accepted. The theory put forward by Hecker² that the common source might be the writings of Julian himself is untenable because, as Reinhardt pointed out, the similarities in the accounts continue after the death of Julian. Reinhardt's own theory³ was that the narratives of Julian's Persian campaign were based on an official 'Feldzugsjournal'. This is virtually disproved by the fact that the most outstanding discrepancies relate to nomenclature, and to arithmetical and topographical details on which any official work would surely have been accepted as authoritative.⁴

The 'common source' theory which has received the widest support is that put forward by Mendelssohn.⁵ In his opinion, Zosimus, when writing about the Persian expedition, abandoned the work of Eunapius and adopted as his source Magnus of Carrhae, an historian known to us from the abridgement in Malalas (chron. p. 328)⁶ whose work had also been used as a source by Ammianus. Mendelssohn also accepted Müller's theory⁷ that Magnus of Carrhae could be identified with the Magnus who tunneled his way into Maiozamalcha. Both this identification and the whole theory that Magnus is the source used by Ammianus and Zosimus have been effectively disproved by Prof. E. A. Thompson,⁸ whose arguments clearly dispel the *Magni nominis umbra*.

Nevertheless some of the arguments proposed in favour of Mendelssohn's theory may profitably be further examined. Seeck⁹ put forward the idea that the mention of Magnus' name in the account of events at Maiozamalcha indicated that this Magnus was the historian and that he hoped by this means to bring his own deeds to notice. This theory, and its subsequent elaboration by Klotz,¹⁰ have been adequately rebutted by Thompson, but in view of Norman's article we may ask ourselves why Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus have all considered it necessary to include some version of the names of the participants. The answer is, I think, suggested by Ammianus (24. 4. 24). He states that, after the siege, *enituerunt hi qui fecere fortissime, obsidionalibus coronis donati, et pro contione laudati, veterum more*. We may be sure that the three tunnellers were included among those *qui fecere fortissime* and that they received the *corona obsidionalis*. This was an honour normally conferred only on generals who relieved a besieged city.¹¹ The exceptional nature of the award may well

¹ R.E. xiv. 491-3.

² 'Zur Geschichte des Kaisers Julianus, eine Quellenstudie', *Programm Kreuznach*, 1886. I have become acquainted with this theory from the reference to it in G. Reinhardt, 'Der Perserkrieg des Kaisers Julian', *Schulnachrichten des Herzogl. Friedrichsrealgymnasiums*, 1892, p. 15.

³ Op. cit., p. 17.

⁴ Cf. Klotz, 'Die Quellen Ammians in der Darstellung von Julians Perserzug', *Rheinisches Museum* lxxi (1916), 461, n. 1.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. xlii ff.

⁶ Cf. Müller, op. cit., pp. 4-6; Dindorf, op. cit., pp. 366-9, and Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, iib, pp. 951-4.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 4.

⁸ *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 28-33. The theory was accepted, with individual elaborations or reservations, by, among others, Seeck, 'Zur Chronologie und Quellenkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus', *Hermes* xli (1906), 481-539; Klein, 'Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus', *Klio Beiheft* xiii (1914); and Klotz, op. cit.

⁹ Op. cit., p. 532.

¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 490.

¹¹ Cf. Rolfe's note in the Loeb edition of Ammianus, ii (London, 1950), 444; Fiebiger, s.v. *Corona*, R.E. iv. 1636-43; and the remark in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *Corona*, I B2b; 'haec corona ab Iuliano restituebatur quidem, sed non amplius ex more antiquo donabatur.'

have caused the names of at least some of the recipients and the circumstances in which they had distinguished themselves to be remembered. They may indeed have been mentioned by other writers whose works have not survived, and Zosimus may on this occasion have made use of some lost work.

We must also investigate whether there is any basis for Mendelssohn's theory¹ that Zosimus departed from his usual source, Eunapius, when writing about the Persian campaign. This theory is mainly based on two arguments; (a) that Zosimus himself (3. 2) indicates that he is going to change his authority, and (b) that none of the surviving fragments of Eunapius relating to the Persian campaign is reflected in the work of Zosimus.

The passage which Mendelssohn quotes from Zosimus is as follows: *εἰρήσεται καὶ ἡμῖν συντόμως ἕκαστα κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις παραλείφθαι δοκεῖ*. By the phrase *τοῖς ἄλλοις*, in Mendelssohn's opinion, Zosimus was referring to Eunapius. Now it must be noted that this sentence occurs before Zosimus' account of Julian's operations in Gaul, and we have no evidence that these were covered by Magnus. This justifies us in looking on Mendelssohn's theory with some suspicion. This suspicion may well be increased when we look at Eunapius fr. 9, which is clearly set in the same historical context as the passage cited from Zosimus. In it Eunapius says that he does not wish to enter into competition with Julian's own account of the Battle of Strasbourg. He uses the expression, *τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων ἀνασκοπεῖν τὸ περὶ τούτων βιβλίον ἐπιτάξομεν*. Surely this is very similar to the words used by Zosimus immediately before the passage which we have just quoted: *πάρεστι δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ συλλαβεῖν ἅπαντα τοῖς λόγοις ἐντυγχάνοντι τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς κτλ*. Moreover Eunapius' phrase *ἐπιδραμούμεθα τὰ γεγενημένα* appears to be echoed in Zosimus' *εἰρήσεται καὶ ἡμῖν συντόμως ἕκαστα*. These similarities seem to me to indicate that Zosimus read the passage in Eunapius and adapted it to make it more appropriate to the time at which he was writing. Far from proving that Zosimus intended to diverge widely from Eunapius, the passage we have quoted from Zosimus underlines his dependence on Eunapius.²

Mendelssohn's other argument, that none of the surviving fragments of Eunapius relating to the Persian expedition is echoed in Zosimus' account, has been discussed by Thompson.³ He points out that 'all these fragments of Eunapius which are usually referred to his account of Julian's Persian campaign do not in fact certainly refer to it at all; an exception which supports Mendelssohn is Frag. 22, and of its four parts three look as though they were derived from Oribasius while the fourth agrees with Ammianus save for the discrepancy of a proper name'. The fourth fragment referred to is 22. 3, where Eunapius talks of the danger to the army's health from an abundance of food in the suburbs of Ctesiphon. Thompson notes that this description is paralleled in Ammianus 24. 3. 14, although there the army is near Maiozamalcha, not Ctesiphon. I believe that another solution is possible. The parallelism between this fragment and the Ammianus passage may be coincidental, and perhaps

¹ Op. cit., pp. xxxix-xlvii.

² Since writing the above I have been interested to find that the same point has been made by M. F. A. Brok, *De Perzische Expeditie van Keizer Julianus volgens Ammianus Marcellinus* (Groningen, 1959), pp. 14-15. I

am very grateful to Professor A. D. Momigliano for bringing this work to my notice, and to the editors of the *Classical Quarterly* for permitting me to include references to it.

³ Op. cit., Appendix I, pp. 134-7.

Eunapius was referring to events at Hucumbra (Σύμβρα in Zosimus). Ammianus, when dealing with the army's arrival at Hucumbra, does not mention that the health of the troops was endangered by over-eating, but he does make it clear that they had been very short of food before arriving there and that they found a *satietas frumenti* (25. 1. 4). The Eunapius fragment uses the phrase ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, and it is interesting to note that Zosimus when writing about events at Σύμβρα (3. 27) says that the army found τροφή ἀφθονος. His phrase is very nearly an echo of that used by Eunapius, and so I would suggest that Eunapius Frag. 22. 3 is a description of events at Hucumbra. Hucumbra was admittedly not in the suburbs of Ctesiphon, but as the whole fragment comes from the *Excerpta de Sententiis*, it is quite possible that the phrase ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις Κτησιφώντος was inserted by the excerptor who did not know where Hucumbra was but who had heard of Ctesiphon, and noticed that it was mentioned not long before in the narrative. His ignorance about Hucumbra would of course be quite excusable as Ammianus makes it clear that it was only a villa. Zosimus might have omitted the detail about the danger to the troops from excess of nourishment as a piece of rhetorical exaggeration on the part of Eunapius, although in the circumstances it may well have been true. It is therefore at least possible that this fragment provides some evidence against Mendelssohn's theory.¹

It would appear then that there are no adequate grounds for distrusting Photius' statement (cod. 98) that Zosimus based his work very closely on that of Eunapius. Norman has now shown that he did on occasion amend Eunapius' narrative, but even in the passage cited by Norman his dependence on Eunapius seems obvious. It is also most likely that Eunapius followed the memoir of Oribasius closely. The two men were close friends, as we learn from Eunapius (Frag. 8), and also from the fact that Oribasius supplied Eunapius not only with the historical memoir, but also with a medical hand-book prepared for his special use.² Oribasius was moreover still alive when Eunapius wrote his work about Julian.³ In these circumstances, I think that we can assume that Eunapius would treat with respect the information which he received from Oribasius. It has sometimes been assumed that the memoir of Oribasius cannot have been of great historical value,⁴ but I do not think that this assumption is justified. It is of course rather difficult to assess the value of a work which does not survive, but we do possess other evidence about Oribasius' character and methods. From his study of Oribasius' medical writings the medical historian, Sir Clifford Allbutt,⁵ praises Oribasius on the grounds that he 'as honourably

relates to the period after the death of Julian.

² Oribasius, *Libri ad Eunapium*, ed. Raeder, *C.M.G.* vi. 3 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1926), 315-498. The preface is reproduced in *Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum*, ed. Giangrande (Rome, 1956), pp. xxxvii f.

³ He was still alive when Eunapius wrote his later work, *The Lives of the Philosophers* (*Lives*, p. 105/499).

⁴ Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁵ *Greek Medicine in Rome* (London, 1921), pp. 407-8. Cf. also pp. 277 and 413. On Oribasius in general cf. Schröder, *R.E.* Supplbd. vii. 797-812.

¹ The fragments of Eunapius in the *Excerpta de Sententiis* appear normally to be arranged in chronological order. Some support would be given for my theory by the fact that fr. 22. 2. refers to events πρὸ Κτησιφώντος. On the other hand, my theory collapses if, as Mai thought, fr. 22. 4 refers to the events narrated in Amm. 24. 7. 8, which preceded the army's arrival at Hucumbra. I would suggest that fr. 22. 4 could quite as well refer to the Army's reactions to Julian's disciplinary measures described in Amm. 25. 1. 6-9. If so, it would be correctly placed chronologically after one referring to Hucumbra and before fr. 23 which clearly

as accurately verified his references and gave to each one of his authors what was his'. In the absence of evidence to the contrary we are not entitled to suppose that Oribasius was not so careful in his incursions into history as he was in his medical treatises. There is, moreover, no real evidence to substantiate Seec's theory¹ that the memoir was composed a generation after the events which it describes. It may well have been written earlier and may have been based on notes made during the campaign. The memoir was probably rich in anecdotes about Julian (cf. Eunapius Frag. 24), but it is also quite probable that the framework in which the anecdotes were set was a sound and honest piece of work. I think that we may agree with Norman that the information which Eunapius gained from Oribasius 'may well have formed the most vital part of this narrative, and there is in fact no evidence for any other source'.

If we accept that the work of Zosimus represents an historical tradition which originates in the memoir of Oribasius, and if we cannot establish the existence of another source which might have been used both by this tradition and Ammianus, there are only three possible ways in which we can account for the similarities between the narrative of Zosimus and that of Ammianus. These possible ways are as follows: (1) Eunapius made use of Ammianus, (2) Zosimus made use of Ammianus, and (3) Ammianus made use of Eunapius. As the second of these alternatives has been considered possible by Norman,² I propose to discuss it first.

Zosimus must have written some considerable time after Ammianus,³ and as an *ex-advocatus* would presumably know Latin. We have seen that he did on occasion correct Eunapius from some other source. The theory that he made use of Ammianus is therefore *prima facie* quite tenable. Nevertheless, there are indications that he did not. In his account of the siege of Pirsabora (3. 18) Zosimus describes a siege-engine which Ammianus in his account of the same events confidently calls a *helepolis* (24. 2. 18). Zosimus uses these words: τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἴτε ἐξ οἰκείας ἐννοίας, τῇ τῶν τόπων ἀρμοσάμενος θέσει, εἴτε καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ πολυμαθείας λαβὼν, μηχανήμα τι κατεσκεύασε τοιόνδε. Ammianus, on the other hand, both here and in his general description of the *helepolis* (23. 4. 10-13), stresses that this engine was much used by Demetrius Poliorcetes. Although a civilian author favourably disposed towards Julian might through ignorance have been disposed to credit Julian with this invention, it is scarcely probable that he could have done so after reading Ammianus' authoritative description. Ammianus' reiteration of the detail about Demetrius Poliorcetes would in fact be more readily explicable if he had been aware that other authors were ascribing the invention of the *helepolis* to Julian.

Both authors give an interesting description of the attack on the first island fortress encountered by the Romans in their progress down the Euphrates (Amm. 24. 1. 5-8 and Zos. 3. 14). The details given and the order in which they are set down in each author are so similar that we can rule out any idea that the resemblance is due solely to the fact that both were describing the same events. There must be some link between the two narratives, and the one notable discrepancy gives an indication of what that link may be. In Ammianus the name of the fortress is confidently given as *Anathan*, while Zosimus clearly

¹ Op. cit., p. 531.

² Cf. p. 152 above.

³ On the dating of Zosimus cf. Mendelssohn, op. cit., pp. v ff.

did not know its name and was merely able to record that it lay opposite *Φαθούρας*.¹ If Zosimus had known the work of Ammianus he would surely have given the name of the fortress instead of simply giving an indication of its whereabouts.

A consideration of these two discrepancies suggests that our second hypothesis is incorrect and that we must choose between the other two. As we have seen, Norman holds the view that his attribution of the Suidas fragment to Eunapius leads to the conclusion that Eunapius was not using Ammianus, but on the other hand it has generally been held that Eunapius' work was published after that of Ammianus. If we must choose between our hypotheses 1 and 3, we can only do so effectively by deciding which was the first to publish, Ammianus or Eunapius.

It is generally accepted that Ammianus' Books I-XXV were published by 392, but not before 389.² It has been generally believed that Eunapius did not publish his historical work about Julian until 396 at the earliest, and so our problem would appear to be solved. If, however, we examine the evidence on which this dating is based, we find that it is, to say the least, extremely slender. References in the *Lives of the Philosophers* (e.g. 52/476) indicate that at the time of writing Eunapius had produced historical work which dealt with matters up to the year 395. It is also clear that he had not then told the whole story of the Gothic invasion of Greece in that year (cf. 52/476 and 67/482). It has therefore been assumed that he published the first version of his historical work in or after 396. There is, however, not one scrap of evidence to indicate that this historical work was all published at one time. Indeed, as I have shown elsewhere,³ his method of referring in the *Lives* to his historical work suggests that at this time it may not have been organized as a continuous systematic treatise, but may rather have consisted of a Life of Constantine and a Life of Julian followed by a Universal History dealing with events after 363. Even if it did then consist of a general history of events from 270 onwards, what was to prevent its being published in instalments? He did subsequently produce a further instalment dealing with the period 395-404. There is nothing to show that Eunapius did not publish any historical work before his fiftieth year, and the probability is that some of it at least was produced earlier.⁴ As far as our knowledge goes, the work of Eunapius relating to Julian may quite easily have been available to Ammianus.

The important question is not whether Ammianus could have used Eunapius, but whether he would have. It is, I think, clear that he himself served on the Persian expedition⁵ and so could write about it from personal recollection, supplemented most likely by his own notes. Personal participation in a military campaign is in many ways valuable to the historian of that campaign, but few serving soldiers are enabled to obtain the over-all picture which must be presented by a work of military history. Ammianus might well have felt that he could profit from the use of a narrative which stemmed from one who, although admittedly a civilian, was nevertheless in close contact with the commander and his staff. (Oribasius' participation in the campaign can be

¹ For a discussion of the geography of this area cf. Brok, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 f.

² Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³ 'The *réa έκδοσις* of Eunapius' Histories', *C.Q.N.S.* iii (1953), 165-70.

⁴ Cf. p. 169 in the above article.

⁵ Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff. and my 'An Alleged Doublet in Ammianus Marcellinus', *Rhein. Mus.* cii (1959), 183-9.

inferred from Eunapius, fr. 8: *καὶ τῶν γε πράξεων, πάσας δὲ ἡπίστατο παρὼν ἀπάσαις, μάλα ἀκριβῶς ὑπόμνημα συνετέλει πρὸς τὴν γραφήν.*)

If we adopt this theory, we can now account for one or two puzzling features in Ammianus' narrative. His phrase *oblecti scutis vimine firmissimo tectis* (24. 2. 10) seems to be a condensation of the description given in Eunapius fr. 21. I would suggest that Ammianus had forgotten about the Persians' osier shields until he was reminded of them by reading Eunapius, and that he did not consider it important to mention the helmets which are also noted by Eunapius. We can now explain the apparent accuracy of the medical details given in Amm. 25. 3. This accuracy, as was pointed out by Büttner-Wobst,¹ suggests that the details came from the pen of Oribasius. I believe that they did, but through the medium of Eunapius. The reference to Julian's dying conversation with Maximus and Priscus may well also have come from Eunapius. We know from the *Lives* how interested he was in these two characters, and they are of course mentioned in the same order in his fr. 19. I would not, however, press this point, as the information might have come from another source.²

If we assume that Ammianus was able to consult Eunapius' work, we can make certain inferences about the similarities and discrepancies between his narrative and that of Zosimus. When the similarity is close, we may assume that Ammianus had accepted the version of Eunapius as trustworthy and embodied it in his own narrative, making whatever changes he considered necessary. For instance in regard to the passages discussed above (Amm. 24. 1. 5-8 and Zos. 3. 14), Ammianus had perhaps noted that a fortress called Anathan was captured, but could not remember the details. Eunapius could supply the details, but not the name. Oribasius may only have noted that the fortress was opposite Phathousas, which may well have been where Julian's Headquarters halted.

The discrepancies cannot be assigned to one single cause. Some of them must be due to the fact that Zosimus was condensing his material, and in so doing may have omitted details used by Ammianus. He may too, as we have seen, have made slight alterations by referring to some other author. Again, both he and Eunapius before him may have made mistakes in rendering unfamiliar names. Of course Oribasius himself may well have recorded Persian names in a manner different from that of Ammianus. Ammianus shows considerable knowledge of Persia, and his version is probably to be preferred. On occasions Ammianus himself may have been in error, but has not changed his mind after reading Eunapius. As an instance we may cite his reference to the Naarmalcha (24. 6. 1), where he is in fact describing a canal fed by the Naarmalcha.³

There are, moreover, instances in which, in my opinion, although the accounts are dissimilar, they may both be to some extent correct. For example, Ammianus (24. 2. 7-8) gives a different version of the crossing of what he calls the Naarmalcha from that given by Zosimus (3. 16). Zosimus describes the army as being held up by the muddy nature of the ground, while Ammianus tells us that the infantry crossed on carefully constructed bridges, while the cavalry swam across *clementiores gurgites* in full armour. The cavalry was, as we know from 24. 1. 2, on the left flank of the advance and consequently farther from the Euphrates. Conditions there may have been different from those encountered by the main body. If Ammianus crossed with the cavalry, he may

¹ 'Der Tod des Kaisers Julian', *Philologus* li, 561-80, p. 563, n. 6.

² Cf. Thompson, op. cit., p. 33.

³ Cf. Thompson, op. cit., p. 30.

not have been impressed by Eunapius' description of the difficulties encountered by the infantry, although his reference to *pontibus caute digestis* suggests that he knew that the crossing was not an easy one. In 24. 3. 10-11, Ammianus describes the crossing of a flooded canal as being made *non sine difficultate*, while Zosimus uses the phrase *μετὰ βραδύνης* (3. 19). Klotz¹ tried to argue that these two phrases mean the same thing, but that is a little difficult to believe. Here I would suggest that Ammianus wrote with appreciation of the hard work involved beforehand, while Oribasius had merely noted the ease with which the actual crossing was effected.

There are occasions when Zosimus gives us more detailed information than is to be found in Ammianus. For instance he gives the names of two places, Sitha and Megia (3. 15), which are not mentioned by Ammianus, who probably omitted them as being rather unimportant. Another example is to be found in the two accounts of the siege of Pirisabora (Zos. 3. 17-18 and Amm. 24. 2. 9-29). Here it is noteworthy that Zosimus begins by giving a detailed and plausible description of the city, while in Ammianus the topographical details are interspersed in the narrative. Zosimus mentions the double wall, the steep road leading from the inner wall to the acropolis, the acropolis itself shaped like the segment of a circle, the *διέξοδος* (in this context presumably a channel of the river) on the west and south, the diversion of the river which protected the city on the north, and the ditch and rampart on the east. Moreover, he describes the *μυροί* as being built of baked brick bound with bitumen on the lower half, and of baked brick and gypsum on the upper half. The details given by Ammianus are less precise. He describes the town as *ambitu insulari circumvallatam* and he does not give a detailed description of the defences in every direction. He does not differentiate between the lower and upper courses of bricks on the battlements, but says that they were all *bitumine et coctilibus laterculis fabricatae*. The acropolis is likened to an Argolic shield, but the only additional topographical information which Ammianus supplies is that the acropolis on the north and straight side was protected by cliffs descending to the Euphrates. This detail might of course have been given by Eunapius. If his fr. 21 relates to the siege of Pirisabora, it is clear that at least some of his narrative at this point was omitted by Zosimus. This is a difficulty which presents itself whenever Ammianus gives more information than Zosimus. Such information may either be his own contribution, or it may have been in Eunapius' account and subsequently passed over by Zosimus. In this particular case, while it would be quite possible to imagine Ammianus writing his vivid narrative and refreshing his memory from the account of Eunapius, it would be quite impossible to believe that Zosimus' topographical account derives from Ammianus. Its precision could well be due to the fact that Oribasius as a non-combatant had leisure to examine the city after its capture and to make detailed notes about it.

It would not be profitable to attempt to determine the causes of each and every similarity and discrepancy, and I have merely tried to indicate some of the ways in which they may have originated. I hope that I have provided enough examples to show that my theory is tenable. If it is correct, and Ammianus was able to study Eunapius before publishing his own account, it follows that he must have accepted or rejected parts of Eunapius' narrative through deliberate choice. He could bring to bear on this material his own

¹ Op. cit., pp. 488 f.

recollections, his general experience of military matters,¹ and a mind capable of making fair critical judgements, even about the actions of the Emperor. He would normally prefer to rely on his own memory or notes, possibly supplemented from other sources, for particulars about such matters as the numbers and dispositions of troops, factors affecting their morale, and the names of personalities involved and of places of importance. On the other hand, he could turn to Eunapius for information about matters of which he had not had knowledge or of which his memory was defective. If my theory is right, Zosimus' account too is deserving of attention, since it stems in the main from one who, although without special military experience and possibly rather prejudiced in favour of Julian, was nevertheless an honest man and a careful observer.

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¹ *Pace* Klein, who (op. cit., 10) thought that 15 years' service would not suffice to make a man completely into a soldier. Probably in

1914 von Hindenburg loomed larger than Alexander the Great—or Julian! Cf. Brok, op. cit., p. 15.

THE NAMES IN HORACE'S *SATIRES*

THE methods of assessing a writer's spirit vary in usefulness according to his genre. If he is a satirist much may often be learned through an examination of his names. This is certainly true of Horace, and one might have thought that in recent years a fair amount of attention would have been paid to this aspect of his work. Yet to the best of my knowledge no special study has been published in the present century.¹ Certain points have been well noted by scholars like Vogel, Becher, and Marouzeau,² and a few editions contain summaries of the material. The last detailed discussion, however, was that of Cartault, and one must admit that it was not wholly unbiased.³ So it seems reasonable to review the evidence again, making use of the work done by Marx, Cichorius, Münzer, and others. We do not have to inquire about all the characters in the *Sermones*; only satirical references need be considered, and even here there is room for selection, because some of the figures are so obscure that nothing helpful can be said about them.⁴

At first sight one might assume that the best information about Horace's characters was to be found in the ancient commentators. While Porphyry's notes date from about the third century and the Pseudo-Acron's may be as late as the fifth, both men had access to a lot of earlier material which has since been lost, including monographs on the characters of Horace.⁵ As a result they occasionally preserve fragments of a genuine tradition. But if we ask them for reliable and detailed information they will let us down. Sometimes their notes conflict, as in the Fannius passage (1. 4. 21) where we are told that the senate presented book-cases to Fannius, that he presented book-cases to the senate, that his heirs presented his books to public libraries, and (splendidly) that at the hour of death Fannius begged to be cremated on a pile of his own books. Sometimes the scholiasts misinterpret what is in front of them. In 1. 2. 64, for example, they miss the irony of *Sullae gener* and state that Villius was a metrical substitute for Annius.⁶ Often too, as in the case of Trebatius the famous jurist, they tell us a good deal less than we can learn from other sources.⁷ So on the whole the ancient commentators are not of much assistance except where they provide corroborative evidence. In their treatment of Horace's names they usually assumed that they were dealing with real individuals. The analysis which follows will indicate that this, like other simple theories, is far from adequate.

For the sake of convenience I have classified the material as (a) the names of living people, (b) the names of dead people, (c) the names of Lucilian characters,

¹ I have not seen the unpublished dissertation by E. J. Filbey referred to by G. C. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, p. 416.

² Vogel, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxxviii (1918), 404-6; Becher, *ibid.* lii (1932), 955-8; Marouzeau, *L'Ant. class.* iv (1935), 365 ff.

³ Cartault, *Étude sur les Satires d'Horace* (Paris, 1899). The work as a whole is still of value, but in his chapter on the names G. was apt to look for individuals where none existed.

⁴ e.g. Tanais and Visellius' father-in-law

(1. 1. 105), Balbinus (1. 3. 40), Trausius (2. 2. 99).

⁵ Keller's findings on the scholiasts are summarized by Wickham, i. 10-12.

⁶ Fausta, Sulla's daughter, was married to Annius Milo. Her lover Villius was such a regular feature of her life that Horace called him 'Sulla's son-in-law'. Not all the scholiasts missed the point.

⁷ For Trebatius (2. 1. 4) see Sonnet, *R.E.* vi A 2, 2251-61 and E. Fraenkel, *J.R.S.* xlvii (1957), 66-70.

(d) significant names, (e) the names of other type characters, and (f) pseudonyms. Not all the categories are self-contained—(b) and (c), for instance, obviously overlap; (f) has to be included for historical reasons, although we may hesitate to place any name under that heading. Also there are several figures who cannot be assigned with certainty to any one group. In such cases the most one can do is to assess probabilities.

(a) *Living people*. The first ones we meet are the hot gospellers Crispinus and Fabius.¹ The bearded, 'bleary-eyed' Crispinus was an obvious target. Like Stertinius, who appears in a later satire, he denounced many habits which Horace himself found objectionable, but his doctrinaire idealism ('all sins are equally culpable'), his lack of social graces, and his eccentric pose disqualified him from serious consideration. Also, from an aesthetic standpoint his sermons were deplorable, being long-winded, over-heated affairs with as little art as his own doggerel verses. The 'gas-bag' Fabius represents the same type. He was one of those speakers who hit the nail on the head with such relentless persistency that the wood eventually splits. As well as being a pedantic bore he has also been put down as an adulterer, but that is unfair. In 1. 2. 134, after listing the dangers of adultery, Horace concludes *deprendi miserum est; Fabio vel iudice vincam*, 'To be caught is a horrid experience—even Fabius would admit that'. Granted this could imply that Fabius had once paid the penalty himself, but a more natural interpretation is that even a Stoic like Fabius would find the consequences painful. So we may take it that Fabius was not an adulterer, but simply a man who had argued himself into believing that the true philosopher was immune to pain, or (to use the old paradox) that the good man could be happy on the rack.² Horace would certainly have applauded the student who remarked that it would have to be a very good man and a very bad rack. On the trip to Brundisium (1. 5) three more characters make their appearance. One is Aufidius Luscus the mayor of Fundi, who receives the travellers with grotesque pomp; the others are Sarmentus (a satellite of Maecenas)³ and a local stalwart called Messius Cicirrus, both of whom keep the company amused by their bucolic repartee. Back in the city we come across the unfortunate Nasica (2. 5. 57), who married his daughter to a rich old fogey in the hope of a legacy and then discovered too late that his aged son-in-law had outwitted him. Two money-lenders also catch our attention. One is the younger Novius (1. 6. 121) who has his table beneath Marsyas' statue and whose face, we are told, accounts for the statue's gesture of abhorrence.⁴ The other is Ruso (1. 3. 86), an amateur historian whose readings are always well attended—debtors find his invitations so hard to refuse. A third member of the profession is the 'mongrel' Persius (1. 7. 2), but we do not meet him in Rome since the scene of his operations is Asia Minor. So far we have two cranks, a petty official, a legacy-hunter, three money-lenders, and a couple of buffoons. Not an impressive collection. They

¹ Crispinus: 1. 1. 120, 1. 3. 139, 1. 4. 14, 2. 7. 45; Fabius: 1. 1. 14, 1. 2. 134.

² See *Vita Epicuri* 118 (Bailey) and for the general theme Seneca, *De Constantia Sapientis*.

³ What we know of Sarmentus comes mainly from the scholiast's comment on *Juv.* 5. 3. It is all set out in Palmer's note on *Serm.* 1. 5. 52.

⁴ Horace must surely be referring to an individual. The authenticity of the name may

be open to question, but the sceptics have to show why it should have been applied here if it was not genuine. Vogel's theory (*op. cit.*, p. 406) that Marsyas, being the symbol of freedom, could not bear the sight of Novius the upstart strikes me as over-ingenious, and his further association of Novius' position with that of Horace does not seem at all likely.

have scarcely a decent sin among them, and all may be dismissed as harmless nonentities, provided we remember that even nonentities may have feelings.

A more worthy target for the satirist's wit is presented by Tillius the stingy and unpopular magistrate,¹ and also by Galba and Sallust, a pair of well-to-do people who are accused of licentiousness in 1. 2.² It would be a mistake to imagine that Horace's satires were inspired by any of these characters. They did not interest him enough to arouse his anger, and their main function is to provide his essays with coloured illustrations. But again, having made this point, we should ask ourselves how far the victims would have been mollified by such delicate considerations.

From these rather detached and incidental allusions we turn to a few expressions of genuine personal dislike. They are to be found for the most part in 1. 10, where they centre on characters like Hermogenes, Demetrius, Pantilius, Fannius, and a few others. Of these gentlemen one, we are told, is a pansy, another is an ape, a third is a louse, a fourth a fool, and they are all a crowd of malicious back-biters. Readers need hardly be reminded that the names belong not to any monsters of crime or vice but to men whose taste in poetry happened to differ from Horace's own.

Up to now we have been discussing people certainly or probably living when the *Satires* were written. More doubt exists in the case of characters like Fausta (1. 2. 64), Alfenus (1. 3. 130), Damasippus (2. 3. 16), Labeo (1. 3. 82), the son of Aesopus (2. 3. 239), and the sons of Arrius (2. 3. 243). Fausta, that lady of high birth and low morals, was born in 86 B.C. She was certainly living in 51 B.C.,³ and when the second satire was written she could not have been more than forty-seven years old. Alfenus, if identical with Alfenus Varus the celebrated jurist,⁴ was definitely alive; if not, there is no firm evidence either way. He was a man who had risen in the social scale, and it was naughty of Horace to recall his connexions with trade. Damasippus the wealthy art dealer is shown by Cicero's correspondence to have been alive in 45 B.C.⁵ In Horace he appears as one driven out of his wits by financial losses and only saved from suicide by the timely intervention of Stertinius, who persuades him that he is really no madder than anyone else. The other names all belong to men who had achieved fame through some act of conspicuous lunacy. Labeo cannot be identified with certainty and should

¹ 1. 6. 24-26 and 107-11. On political grounds it is doubtful whether Tillius could have been the brother of Tillius Cimber the conspirator. See Münzer, *R.E.* vi A 1, 1037. (Subsequent references are to Münzer unless otherwise indicated.)

² I am assuming that Galba (46) belonged to a branch of the *gens Sulpicia*. Sallustius (48) was a man of some social consequence—probably not the historian, since the latter was alleged to be an adulterer (Gell. 17. 15) whereas this man made a point of avoiding *matronae* (54). It may be the historian's grand-nephew. See *R.E.* i A 2, 1955 (Stein) and *Carm.* 2. 2.

³ *Cic. Att.* 5. 8. 2. Fausta's twin brother was killed after Thapsus in 46 B.C. Her lover Villius is usually equated with the Sextus Villius mentioned in *Fam.* 2. 6. 1 (53 B.C.).

Longarenus is unknown. Another of Fausta's paramours, Pompeius Macula (Macrob. 2. 2. 9), was probably the man referred to in *Fam.* 6. 19. 1 (45 B.C.).

⁴ This is the traditional view, see Klebs in *R.E.* i. 1472 and Frank in *C.Q.* xiv (1920). Such an eminent contemporary, however, appears rather out of place in this satire. The word *vaffer* is of little assistance, for Alfenus must have improved his position after closing his shop and this would be enough to suggest shrewdness whether or not he took up law. The authority of F. Schulz (*Hist. of Roman Legal Science*, p. 42) has to be used with caution. Fraenkel is right in saying that Schulz rejects the scholiast's story (*Horace*, p. 89), but Schulz nevertheless believes that Horace had the jurist in mind.

⁵ *Att.* 12. 33. 1; also *Fam.* 7. 23. 2 and 3.

perhaps be put in another category,¹ but the son of Aesopus is mentioned by Cicero.² He was a young man in 47 B.C.—about fourteen years before the poem in question was written. Arrius, who is also mentioned by Cicero, must have died about 50 B.C.³ His sons could have survived to see the publication of book 2 in 30 B.C. If they did, they must have been disconcerted to find themselves described as 'a famous pair of brothers, twins in depravity and silliness and in their love of evil'.

Certain other figures are mentioned as though they were contemporary, but it is often hard to tell whether they are real or fictitious. Those which appear to be fictitious will be discussed later. In the case of the others one can point out that Cerinthus the pretty boy (1. 2. 81) is directly addressed in the most Lucilian of all Horace's satires, that the reference to Rufillus and Gargonius and their contrasting odours (1. 2. 27) is repeated in 1. 4. 92 in such a way as to suggest that it had given offence, that neither Natta (1. 6. 124) nor Iulius (1. 8. 39) sounds like a type name, and that the phrase *fragilis Pediatia* (1. 8. 39) seems too carefully pointed to be without a target. But none of these arguments would impress a tough-minded sceptic.

(b) *Dead people.* A number of Horace's gibes, though perhaps not quite so many as one often assumes, are aimed at persons whom we know to have been dead. Some of these characters may be classified by their attitude to money. Thus while Staberius and Ummidius worshipped it with the devotion of true misers, Aristippus was senselessly indifferent to it; so were Volanerius the obsessive gambler and Marsaeus who ruined himself for the sake of an actress.⁴ Fufidius the miser (1. 2. 12) may also belong to this group. One thinks first of the Quintus Fufidius mentioned by Cicero in *Pis.* 86, *Q.F.* 3. 1. 3, *Att.* 11. 13. 3, 14. 3, 15. 2 (*R.E.* no. 1). If this is the man in question he must represent a type, because although dead he is spoken of in the present tense. Alternatively Horace might have had in mind a living person. We do know of a Fufidius who was alive in 46 B.C. (*Cic. Fam.* 13. 11. 1, 12. 1, *R.E.* no. 7), but there is no evidence that he was a miser.

Passing quickly over Sisyphus (Antony's dwarf, 1. 3. 47), the blustering poet Cassius Etruscus (1. 10. 61f.), and the black sheep Laevinus (1. 6. 12), we come to Priscus (2. 7. 9) the senator whose life was a jumble of absurd contradictions. The problem of consistency, which in morals involves the integration of the personality and in art the achievement of unity amid variety, held a special interest for Horace. So it is no accident that whereas most Horatian characters are presented with a few strokes here and a touch of colour there, Priscus should be honoured with a seven-line verbal cameo. But even Priscus is eclipsed by another of his kind—I refer to that splendid bohemian Tigellius, who occupies the opening section of 1. 3 (a poem written about 37 or 36 B.C.). Tigellius was a musician from Sardinia who had been quite a well-known figure in Roman society a few years before. He was on familiar terms with Julius Caesar and

¹ M. Antistius Labeo, the lawyer, is possible temperamentally but not chronologically, having been born c. 50 B.C. His father who died at Philippi, is of the right age, but there is no evidence of any *insania*. The tribune C. Atinius Labeo committed an act of *insania*, but this took place in 131 B.C. Fraenkel (*Horace*, p. 89) suggests that we overcome this chronological difficulty by

assuming that the name occurred in Lucilius.

² *Att.* 11. 15. 3.

³ He was alive in 52 B.C. (*Pro Mil.* 46), but dead before the *Brutus* was composed—i.e. before 46 B.C. *R.E.* ii. 1253 (Klebs).

⁴ Staberius 2. 3. 84; Ummidius 1. 1. 95; Aristippus 2. 3. 100; Volanerius 2. 7. 15; Marsaeus 1. 2. 55.

Octavian; he knew Cicero well enough to quarrel with him; and he had the distinction of being lampooned by Calvus.¹ In 1. 2, written shortly after his death, he is depicted as one who spent money freely in rather raffish company. And the description in 1. 3 suggests a man who lived not according to this or that philosophy but simply for dramatic effect. Had someone reminded him of the old Delphic maxim 'Know thyself' he would have answered with a sigh 'Ah, but which one?' Flamboyant and unstable, amusing and insincere, Tigellius represented the antithesis of the ideal Roman type. The empire called for sound purposeful men with a strong sense of duty and not too much imagination, and Stoicism, when suitably adapted, provided the necessary intellectual framework—rather like public school Christianity. So in commending the man who is 'all of a piece' Horace is affirming a national ethical tradition. Yet the amount of time spent in deriding Tigellius reminds us that Horace himself was not always a model of *aequabilitas*; indeed this very point is hinted at in line 19:

nunc aliquis dicat mihi 'quid tu?
nullane habes vitia?'

after which the satire takes a new turn and proceeds to its main theme of friendly tolerance.

Before leaving this group one should say a word about Cervius the informer, Turius the crooked judge, and Scaeva the poisoner, who all appear in 2. 1. 47-56. The charges against them are grave ones, but they are made in a poem

¹ Cic. *Att.* 13. 49, 50, 51; *Fam.* 7. 24. The evidence is summarized by Wickham in his introduction to *Serm.* 1. 3. I have distinguished the Sardinian Tigellius of 1. 2. 3 and 1. 3. 4 from the Hermogenes (Tigellius) mentioned in 1. 3. 129, 1. 4. 72, 1. 9. 25, 1. 10. 17-18, 80, 90. The two men were regarded as identical by the scholiasts and this opinion has been held in recent times by Münzer (*R.E.* vi A1, 943-946), Ullman (*C.Ph.* x [1915], 270-96) and Fairclough (Loeb, 54). But since Kirchner many scholars have recognized two different men. Argument has centred on personal characteristics, on the names employed, on the relationship with Calvus, and on the question whether Hermogenes was alive or dead. Nothing can be proved under the first two headings; the traits and names could belong to one person but need not do so. As regards Calvus, we know that he ridiculed the Sardinian (*Sardi Tigelli putidum caput veniit*), but according to 1. 10. 17-18 he was admired by Hermogenes and his friend (*nil praeter Calvum et doctum cantare Catullum*). The natural interpretation of this point is in favour of the separatists. Realizing this, Ullman wanted to take *cantare* either ironically or else in the sense of 'satirize' (op. cit., pp 295-6). But *cantare* cannot mean 'satirize' without considerable help from the context, as in 2. 1. 46. Fairclough, who purports to follow Ullman, translates it by 'droning', but this does not bring out the opposition required by Ullman,

namely Horace-Calvus-Catullus-Atticists versus Lucilius-Tigellius-Asianists.

We know that the Sardinian was dead. What about Hermogenes? He certainly appears to be alive, because his actions occur in the present tense, except at 1. 10. 18 and there the perfect is always taken as primary. Again the unitarians have to provide another explanation, and they do not offer the same one. Münzer says that Hermogenes had become a type figure and could therefore be referred to in the present tense. Ullman regards Hermogenes as a very specific individual and would explain the tense in terms of idioms such as 'Horace tells us to enjoy our youth'. Münzer's is the more plausible theory (Ullman's idioms are not strictly analogous), and it must be tested by an examination of each passage. Now in 1. 3. 129, 1. 4. 72, and 1. 9. 25 it is possible to substitute some general phrase for Hermogenes, e.g. 'a Hermogenes', or 'someone like Hermogenes'. But in the other passages this cannot be done so easily. In 1. 10. 18 Hermogenes is associated with a particular ape (*iste*); in 80 he is closely connected with Fannius, and almost as closely with Demetrius and Pantilius. And if they are all banished from reality, the following lines with their references to Maecenas, Virgil, and the rest are gravely weakened. Finally, in 90-91 a general substitution of this kind is virtually impossible.

which, because of its late date, is unlikely to contain any real aggressiveness; moreover, they come immediately after Horace's promise that he will not attack any live person unless provoked. Therefore it is best to assume that the characters in question were not living. This leaves two possibilities; they may be fictions, in which case we can hardly hope to guess why these particular names should have been chosen,¹ or they may be real people whose sinister reputation was still fresh. The second suggestion would be well in line with the satire's jocular tone, for we all know how a criminal who has captured the popular imagination becomes on his death a kind of mythological hero-villain. Rasputin regularly makes his appearance in the Sunday newspapers, and Dr. Crippen is still with us, enshrined by an affectionate public within the chamber of horrors.

(c) *Lucilian characters*. The most straightforward case is that of Gallonius (2. 2. 47):

haud ita pridem
Galloni praeconis erat acpensere mensa
infamis.

This is a clear reference to the gluttonous auctioneer attacked by Lucilius:

'o Publi, o gurgis Galloni, es homo miser' inquit.²

We can also feel fairly confident about Maenius. His extravagance is mentioned in *Epist.* 1. 15. 26-42, and also by Porphyry on *Serm.* 1. 3. 21, who tells us that when Maenius was forced to sell his house in the Forum he reserved one column to enable him to watch the gladiatorial shows—a column which Lucilius referred to in the fragment *Maenius columnam dum peteret*.³ So the Horatian and the Lucilian Maenius are probably the same person. There is an equal degree of probability in the case of Pacideianus, who according to Lucilius was 'far and away the best gladiator the world has ever seen'.⁴ A Pacideianus also appears in *Serm.* 2. 7. 97 and it is most likely that the two men are identical, though Heinze thinks that the name had been adopted by a fighter of Horace's own day—a practice which was not unknown.⁵

From now on more serious problems arise. Take the rich skin-flint Opimius (2. 3. 146 ff.). There is also an Opimius in the Lucilian fragments, in fact there are two. One is Quintus Opimius, consul in 154 B.C., who as a boy had a reputation for sexual depravity; the other is his son Lucius Opimius who held the consulship in 121 B.C. and was later exiled for accepting bribes from Jugurtha.⁶ Obviously neither has anything to do with the Horatian figure, who

¹ Vogel (op. cit.) points to the antithesis *Scaeva-dextera*. I should think, however, that *dextera* was put in on account of *Scaeva* rather than *vice versa*.

² Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, iii. 200-7. I give references to W. since Marx is not so widely available.

³ W. 1136-7. In 180 B.C. when Cato was buying land for the Basilica Porcia, Maenius sold his house, reserving the right to build a balcony on one of the columns of the new Basilica. This is the column to which Porph. is referring. Lehmann-Hartleben (*A.J.P.* lix [1938], 280-90) rejects the evidence for

an earlier column in honour of C. Maenius.

⁴ W. 174-5.

⁵ See Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, iv. 257-63 of the Eng. trans. The other two names do not help us. Fulvius is common enough. Rutuba may be a significant name. Varro used *rutuba* in the sense of *perturbatio* (Non. 167. 9), hence Marouzeau (op. cit., p. 374) renders Rutuba by *Le Grabuge*. All this proves nothing about the figure's reality. No one who saw 'The Brown Bomber' in action would have mistaken him for an abstract type.

⁶ W. 450-3.

owes his name to the oxymoron *pauper Opimius*—'Poor Mr. Rich'. Albucius is a somewhat similar case. A person of that name appears twice in Horace, once as a victim of Canidia's poison (2. 1. 48) and once as a cruel old martinet (2. 2. 67). The Lucilian character, however, was Titus Albucius, who was ridiculed by Q. Mucius Scaevola for his addiction to Greek phrases.¹ In *Serm.* 1. 4. 69 Caelius is a brigand. What was the Caelius in fragment 1008 of Lucilius? Wickham, very conveniently, thinks he was a brigand. Others have seen in him a poet, an historian, a judge, a ball-player, and a friend of the satirist's. The most likely guess is that of Lucian Müller, namely that he was an officer celebrated by Ennius for his deeds in the Istrian war.²

quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Naevius aut sic
ut Nomentanus?

These exasperated words come from the miser in 1. 1. 101. Porphyrio comments: *Naevius autem fuit in tantum parvus ut sordidus merito haberetur Lucilio auctore.*³ So Naevius appeared as a miser in Lucilius. That is very interesting, if true. But he is not a miser in Horace; in fact he is the very opposite. Porphyrio must have misread the lines. A further complication is introduced by 2. 2. 68–69 where Naevius is a careless host who gives his guests greasy water to wash in. This is certainly not the action of a spendthrift, nor does it quite suggest a miser. It is rather a sign of slackness. The *simplex* Naevius carries informality too far.

Last of all there is Nomentanus.⁴ He is so widely accepted as a Lucilian character that one is apt to forget that he owes his place in the fragments to the good offices of Scaliger and Stephanus. At W. 80–81 Scaliger proposed *Nomentani quae* for the MSS. *nomen iamque*. This conjecture is endorsed by Müller, Cichorius, and Warmington,⁵ and it is called 'uncertain, but neat and plausible' by Housman;⁶ it is rejected by Bachrens, Marx, and Terzaghi. The admission of Nomentanus to W. 82 is likewise disputed. Donatus on Terence, *Phormio* 1. 2. 73 gives *qui te montane malum*. By his correction *Momentane* Stephanus opened the way for *Nomentane*. In his text of Donatus Wessner prints *Nomentane*, but in the Appendix he apparently accepts *qui di te, montane, malum* with Marx.⁷ Suppose, however, that Nomentanus should be restored in both passages, then the Lucilian character would appear to have been L. Atilius Nomentanus, an associate of Scaevola's. This suggestion is advanced by Cichorius,⁸ and notice what he adds: 'Eine Beziehung freilich auf den bei Horaz mehrfach vor kommenden Verschwender Nomentanus, der nach Porphyrio zu Horaz *Sat.* 1. 1. 102 L. Cassius Nomentanus hiess, muss ganz ausser dem Spiele bleiben.' This statement may be a little over-confident, because Porphyrio could have been wrong. It is also fallacious to argue, as Cartault does,⁹ that since Nomentanus was present at Nasidienus's dinner party he cannot have been the man mentioned by Lucilius. But at least we can say that no certain connexion has been established between the Horatian and the Lucilian Nomentanus.¹⁰

Under this heading, therefore, we have found three characters (Gallionius,

¹ W. 84–93.

² See Cichorius, *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, pp. 187 ff.

³ *Lucilio auctore* is a conjecture of Marx's (1212 in his edition).

⁴ 1. 1. 102; 1. 8. 11; 2. 1. 22; 2. 3. 175, 224; 2. 8. 23, 25, 60.

⁵ But I do not see how W. arrives at his

translation.

⁶ *C.Q.* i (1907), 59.

⁷ Donatus ii, P. Wessner (Teubner), 536.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 244 ff.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

¹⁰ The occurrence of Lucilius in the Pseudo-Acron's comment on 2. 1. 22 makes no sense and must be a slip.

Maenius, and Pacideianus) who may be said with confidence to have been drawn from Lucilian satire. There may be others, but we cannot be sure.¹

(d) *Significant names.* Let us start with names which were certainly or probably chosen solely on account of their derivations. Opimius (2. 3. 142) has already been mentioned. Apart from the oxymoron involving his name, the context is that of a fable which could well have begun with 'once upon a time'. Then we have Maltinus (1. 2. 25). According to Nonius 37. 6 *malta* meant an effeminate fop,² and that is just what Maltinus was. The coincidence is too great and the name too uncommon to permit the possibility of a personal reference. Moreover the opposite extreme, namely that of virile exhibitionism, is represented by the colourless *est qui* (25). Cupiennius the adulterer (1. 2. 36) is a similar case. Again the aptness of name to context is too good to be true, and again the antithesis is supplied by an anonymous phrase *quidam notus homo* (31). Porcius also belongs to this group. He is projected by his situation and we see him just long enough to catch his party piece, which was to polish off a whole cake in a single mouthful (2. 8. 24). He is linked with Nomentanus, who, whatever his origins, had now become a type figure. The same goes for Nomentanus' other comrade the *scurra* Pantolabus (1. 8. 11 and 2. 1. 22).³

If the five names just quoted are clear cases, another five can be cited which do not allow the same degree of confidence. In 2. 6. 72 the dancer Lepos no doubt epitomizes the subjects of fashionable gossip, but Lepos is also just the kind of name which a real dancer might have had. Heinze reminds us of an actor called Favor (he omits the reference, which is Suet. *Vesp.* 19), and Stein in *R.E.* vi. 2078 assures us that this was not an isolated instance. The mean Avidienus (2. 2. 55) looks very like a type figure until we find that he possesses a nickname—*Canis* (56). This is inconclusive, since *Canis* may recall simply the general notion of Cynic asceticism, but the pun in 64—*hac urget lupo hac canis*—is slightly improved if one assumes that Horace had not invented the nickname. Or consider Ofellus (2. 2. 2). At first sight it seems a suspiciously neat paradox that the virtues of frugality should be expounded by a man called Mr. Titbit (*ofella*), but when Horace steps forward in 112 with the words

puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
integris opibus novi non latius usum
quam nunc accisis. videas metato in agello . . .

and when we hear that Ofellus' farm has now been assigned to a veteran with the very specific name of Umbrenus, we begin to believe that we are dealing with a real person after all. There is also something more than word-play behind 'that louse Pantilius' (*πᾶν τῆλεον*) in 1. 10. 78. The name is found in *C.I.L.* x. 5925 (Dess. 6260), and it occurs here in a context full of personalities. The least we should assume is that Pantilius was a nickname for some carping critic of the day. Finally, let us take an instance where the balance appears evenly poised. In 1. 6. 40 the upstart Novius seems a perfect example of a significant name. What then are we to say of the younger Novius in 121 who, as we argued above,

¹ Fraenkel has suggested that Labeo (1. 3. 82) and Barrus the fop (1. 6. 30) may have figured in Lucilius (*Horace*, p. 89, and *Festschrift Reitzenstein*, p. 130, n. 1).

² See W. 744.

³ Pantolabus (*πᾶν + λαβεῖν*) is identified by the scholiasts with one Mallius Verna;

in *Epist.* 1. 15. 26 he is equated with Maenius. Franke wanted to alter Mallius to Maenius, and some editors, e.g. Orelli and Palmer, have disposed of Naevius (1. 1. 101) in the same way. These changes simplify matters, but the method is a drastic one.

is almost certainly an individual? Perhaps the least difficult solution here is to break the balance in half and to say that the two figures are unrelated.¹

A significant name, though in theory quite general, may be limited in some way by its context. Thus while Porcius on his own would represent The Glutton, his frame of reference is narrowed by his appearing at table in the company of Fundanius, Viscus, Varius, and Maecenas. So that readers would tend to see him not just as The Glutton but rather as the sort of glutton that Horace knew.

This leads on to a further point. In English literature we are all familiar with My Lord Plausible, Sir John Brute, Lady Fanciful, and the other types which bow and sidle through the drawing-rooms of Restoration Comedy. Now in spite of the dramatist's assurance that no personal references were intended the audience would persist in using its imagination. This practice can be illustrated by the epilogue to *The Way of the World*:

Others there are whose malice we'd prevent
Such as watch plays with scurrilous intent
To mark out who by characters are meant.
And though no perfect likeness they can trace
Yet each pretends to know the copied face.
These with false glosses feed their own ill nature
And turn to libel what was meant a satire.

Something of the same kind must have happened to Horace. Granted his readers were as a whole less idle, less sophisticated, and less malicious than the patrons of the London playhouses, but on the other hand his names, unlike those of the Restoration Comedy, were in actual use at the time. The truth is that the Roman system of *cognomina* made it difficult to employ significant names without appearing personal. One need only recall the dramatic role played in Republican politics by gentlemen called Pea, Bald, Dull, and Soak—names which an Englishman would not expect to encounter outside a Shakespearean romance. Or think of that occasion in 59 B.C. when the actor Diphilus raised a storm of applause by declaiming the innocuous line *nostra miseria tu es magnus*—all because of Pompey's *cognomen*.² In much the same way when Horace's *Satires* first appeared they caused a certain amount of enjoyable if misguided speculation. Several of the names clearly belonged to individuals; as for the rest, a little stretching here, a little padding there, and the cap could usually be made to fit someone. Cupiennius, for instance, was linked by one tradition with C. Cupiennius Libo of Cumae, an acquaintance of Augustus, and some scholars still find this credible.

Apart altogether from readers' fantasies, there are several places where a definite person is named, and where the derivation, however apposite, can be

¹ Caprius and Sulpicius (l. 4. 65 f. and 70) also present a problem. Radermacher (*Wien. St. liii* [1935], 80 ff.) thinks (a) that the names suggest figs called *caper* and *sulca*—an inference from *caprificus* and *Columella* 5. 10. 11, (b) that this in turn suggests the Greek *συκο-φάρης*, an informer (cf. Porph.'s note: *hi accrimini delatores et caudidici fuisse traduntur*), (c) that the names also hint at *caper* and *sulcus* (= *cunivus*). (c) is scarcely apposite. (b) is ingenious but somewhat far-fetched. It also depends on (a) which is by no means certain.

I have not seen *caper* alone in this sense, and the reading at *Columella* 5. 10. 11 is doubtful. On the whole it is probably best to take the names as referring to contemporary lampoonists. See Ullman, *T.A.P.A.* xlviii (1917), 177–18. This would be still more likely if we followed Fraenkel's suggestion (*Horace*, p. 127, n. 3) and read *Sulgius*.

² Cic. *Att.* 2. 19. 3. The Roman audience was always on the look-out for a line which could be given a contemporary application. Cf. *Sest.* 57, 120.

of only secondary importance, e. g. Stertinus (*stertere*), Furius (*furere*), and Philodemus (*φιλεῖν* + *δῆμος*).¹ The last is of special interest, for when Philodemus of Gadara joked about his name suiting his nature

αὐταὶ που Μοῖραί με κατωνόμασαν Φιλόδημον
ὥς αἰεὶ Δημοῦς θερμὸς ἔχει με πόθος²

he little thought that the verbal coincidence would some day be used to argue him out of his place in a Roman diatribe.³

Etymology therefore, if used with restraint, does help us to understand the *Satires*. But when we are asked to note the significance of Luscus ('Squint-Eye'), Nasidienus ('The Nose'), and Arellius ('Dry Old Croesus'), and when we are urged to alter Gargonius to Gorgonius and Scetani to Sectani, then it is time to call a halt.⁴

(e) *Names of other type characters*. Under this miscellaneous heading we may include figures taken from Greek myth and legend such as Tantalus, Sisyphus, Agave, Orestes, Atrides, Ulysses, Ajax, Teiresias, Penelope, and Helen;⁵ the slave types Dama and Davus;⁶ and also probably Apella the superstitious Jew.⁷ Apella was a common name among freedmen, and most of the Jewish community in Rome belonged to that class. This would not rule out the further possibility that Horace was punning on the custom of circumcision. Such was the view of Porphyryon (*finxit nomen quasi sine pelle*), and it would link up with *curtis Iudaeis* in 1. 9. 70.

Lastly we should include the figures mentioned in 2. 3. 69 ff. Nerius suggests a man of wisdom and prophetic insight. Wily Cicuta ('Hemlock') is the keen financier. Both stand for 'Something in the City' and both are tricked by Proteus the archetype of slippery customers. Perellius in 75 should probably be placed among the dead people who had come to represent a particular occupation. Our equivalent, allowing for the vast difference in scale, would be someone like Morgan or Rothschild. The alternative is to regard Nerius Cicuta, and the others as nicknames of living characters. But this is less plausible. It will not work in the case of Proteus or Perellius, and in 175 Cicuta is associated with the typical spendthrift Nomentanus.

(f) *Pseudonyms*. We all know how love poets like Catullus and Propertius used to conceal their lady-friends' identity under false names. Perhaps 'conceal' is hardly the right word, for since the pseudonyms were metrically equivalent to the real names (Lesbia = Clodia, Cynthia = Hostia), and since tongues wagged as busily in the Forum as they do in Mayfair or Park Avenue, the disguise tended to be about as effective as Coan silk. What we should like to know is whether Horace used the same device in the *Satires*. Certainly the scholiasts thought he did, and there is no *a priori* reason why he should not have done so. Nevertheless, not one case has been proved, and the guesses vary greatly in plausibility. The most widely accepted case is Pitholeon (1. 10. 22),

¹ Stertinus 1. 2. 33; Furius 2. 5. 41; Philodemus 1. 2. 121.

² A.P. 5. 115. Cf. *Epig. ascribed to Martial* 20. 4-5 (Demophilus).

³ Palmer, p. xvi.

⁴ Luscus 1. 5. 43; Nasidienus 2. 8. 1; Arellius 2. 6. 78; Gargonius 1. 2. 27; Scetanus 1. 4. 112. These suggestions are to be found in Palmer, p. xvi, and Marouzeau, *op. cit.*

⁵ Tantalus 1. 1. 68; Sisyphus 2. 3. 21; Agave 2. 3. 303; Orestes 2. 3. 133; Atrides 2. 3. 187 ff.; Ulysses 2. 5. 100; Ajax 2. 3. 187; Teiresias 2. 5. 1; Penelope 2. 5. 76; Helen 1. 3. 107. Tyndaridae (1. 1. 100) should also be included.

⁶ Dama 1. 6. 38; 2. 5. 18, 101; 2. 7. 54; Davus 1. 10. 40; 2. 5. 91; 2. 7. 2.

⁷ Apella 1. 5. 100.

whom Bentley identified with the Pitholaus mentioned in Suetonius, *Iul.* 75. Tenney Frank may also be right in his theory that Heliodorus (1. 5. 2) is the scholar Apollodorus.¹ But these two instances are somewhat exceptional in that the alteration would have been made for metrical reasons, not for the sake of concealment. One of the ancient rumours which have come down to us alleges that Maltinus (1. 2. 25) is a mask for Maecenas. The latter certainly dressed in an effeminate style,² and the satire in question was written before Horace met him. But if this was a genuine allusion it is hard to explain how Horace could have published the poem after enjoying Maecenas' patronage for over three years. As for the other proposals, while it is interesting to toy with the idea that Catiis (2. 4. 1) is a skit on the gourmet C. Matius or that Nasidienus Rufus (2. 8. 1) is based on memories on Salvidienus Rufus,³ one may pass quickly over attempts to link Baius (1. 4. 110) with Bavius and the son of Aesopus (2. 3. 239) with Tidas.⁴

The most tantalizing name is, of course, Canidia. In addition to other brief appearances she plays a major role in *Serm.* 1. 8 and *Epodes* 5 and 17. Porphyryon on *Epod.* 3. 8 says her real name was Gratidia and that she was a cosmetician from Naples. The first detail may be an invention, and the second a combination of Neapolis (5. 43) with *nardo perunctum* (5. 59). On the other hand, it must be conceded that no other fictitious character crops up so persistently, and a detail like *cum Sagana maiore* (*Serm.* 1. 8. 25) makes one pause before saying anything too dogmatic. The problem is largely a matter of degree. No one believes that Canidia is either a personified idea or a recognizable portrait, but between these limits there is room for argument. Three intermediate types of creation may be distinguished: (1) a figure constructed imaginatively on the basis of a group, (2) a figure constructed imaginatively on the basis of a group but with overtones hinting at a real individual, (3) a figure constructed imaginatively on the basis of an individual. If Canidia belongs to type one we can say that Horace created her from his knowledge of contemporary witchcraft intending her, perhaps, to serve as a fictitious substitute for Archilochus' Neobule. If we are dealing with a case of the second type then the individual, whoever she may have been, will remain a shadow in the background and can never be identified. If Canidia falls under the third heading the witches will cease to have much importance, and Canidia herself will emerge as a travesty of one of Horace's acquaintances. Some supporters of the last view have even been bold enough to hazard an identification.⁵ My own feeling is that the second possibility is the most likely. On points like this Roman opinion was probably as divided as our own. Not everyone would have accepted Canidia and the rest as composite figures, and Horace's lack of precision may well have increased rather than checked the flow of rumour and conjecture. Martial gives us an example of this ageless curiosity:

Nomen Athenagorae quaeris, Callistrate, verum.
si scio, dispeream, qui sit Athenagoras.
sed puta me verum, Callistrate, dicere nomen:
non ego sed vester peccat Athenagoras. (9. 95 b)

¹ *C.P.* xv (1920), 393.

² *Sen. Epist.* 114 and Mayor on *Juv.* 1. 66 and 12. 39.

³ Palmer, pp. 314 and 368.

⁴ Frank, *Class. Stud. presented to Capps* (Princeton, 1936), pp. 159 ff.

⁵ Frank, *ibid.*; A. Hahn, *T.A.P.A.* lxx (1939), 231 ff.

One might also cite the beginning of 2. 23:

Non dicam, licet usque me rogetis,
qui sit Postumus in meo libello,
non dicam.

The foregoing analysis shows that Horace's use of names was far from uniform. Such a conclusion is neither new nor surprising, but this variety has to be constantly reaffirmed if we are to avoid the generalizations which so often appear in editions and literary histories. Clearly the scholiasts and modern critics of similar leanings such as Cartault and Courbaud¹ cannot be right in maintaining that Horace usually had real people in mind. But there is an opposite way of thinking which can also mislead and which is more frequently encountered. Put crudely it goes like this: Lucilius, a man of high social standing protected by the powerful Scipio family, could afford to attack contemporary statesmen (so far so good); 'the conditions under which Horace wrote were altogether different', 'the political situation between 42 and 31 B.C. would not have borne rough handling and the softening of manners had put a check on personalities'. 'Personality is the essence of satire and Horace dared not be personal.' He had to beware of infringing the law of libel—'there is a touch of serious anxiety beneath the jest upon the *mala* and the *bona carmina* with which *Serm.* 2. 1 closes'. Horace's *Satires* are therefore 'free from vehemence', 'they are directed against types rather than individuals'. 'Horace is the dragon-fly of satire, ornamental but stingless', and one can hardly doubt that 'he was acting wisely . . . in avoiding personal attacks on living men'. In brief Horace 'stood to Lucilius in much the same relation as Menander to Aristophanes'.²

There is much truth in these statements, but they are so over-simplified as to be misleading. It is, of course, a fact, and a significant fact, that Horace did not attack men of real importance—least of all prominent politicians. Something more will be said about this below; here I would simply point out that the political and the personal are not coextensive. The absence of Marcus Antonius does not make Crispinus fictitious. Moreover, even where no living individual is involved it is hardly enough to say 'so-and-so is a type figure', for, as we have seen, type figures can be of several kinds.

In drawing attention to the diversity of Horace's names I have also tried to bear in mind the effect which the *Satires* were likely to produce when they first appeared. This point should not be overstressed, and I have only given it this much prominence because it is usually ignored altogether. It would be absurd to suggest that the first book of *Satires* caused anything in the nature of a public outcry or even widespread resentment; but it does seem that in certain quarters Horace was regarded with suspicion. True, the names were mostly employed as a means to some ethical or aesthetic end. (An indication of this is the fact that with Horace, as opposed to many of the eighteenth-century satirists, our ignorance concerning a name rarely if ever makes a passage unintelligible.) But people do not like being used to point a moral or adorn a tale, especially

¹ Courbaud, *Horace. Sa vie et sa pensée à l'époque des Épîtres*, p. 5, n. 2.

² The quotations are taken respectively from Palmer, p. xii; Morris, p. 15 of the introduction to his edition; Palmer, p. xii; Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, p. 370; Page, p. xv of his edition of the *Odes*; Hadas, *A Hist. of*

Lat. Lit., p. 167 (cf. Wright's article on Horace in *O.C.D.*: 'Horace's humour . . . is directed against types rather than individuals, foibles rather than vices.' Are we to regard greed, malice, adultery, and murder as foibles?); Hight on *Satura* in *O.C.D.*; Wilkins, *Rom. Lit.*, p. 95; Palmer, p. xiii.

when the tale is one of vice and stupidity. As for the dead, they were beyond taking offence, but their relatives were not, and in the Roman family relatives mattered. We may therefore assume that the line

cum sibi quisque timet quamquam est intactus et odit¹

for all its ironic exaggeration contains a core of truth, and that the opening words of book 2

sunt quibus in satura videor nimis acer et ultra
legem tendere opus

do reflect an authentic situation. The critics were naïve in their judgement and too remote from the poet to appreciate his real intentions, yet occasionally they were right, and sometimes their mistakes were excusable.

So much for book 1 and its reception. In book 2, which is over fifty lines longer, there is a sharp drop in the number of names. Living characters appear hardly ten times in 1,083 verses, and it is significant that most of the names in group (e) above are drawn from the later collection. We can guess at some of the factors behind the change. For one thing, unlike its predecessor, book 2 must have been written with the prospect of publication in mind, and so it is possible that by cutting down the number of personal references Horace wished to forestall the kind of half-informed criticism mentioned above. Moreover the poet now enjoyed a position of esteem and security such as he had never known before, and as the gliding years carried him into his middle thirties he began to take a more detached view of his material. I do not mean that he became less sensitive to moral evil, but rather that he saw it in less personal terms. This tendency towards greater detachment can also be seen in the form of the poems; for instead of being delivered by Horace himself the sermons are in most cases put into the mouths of intermediate characters like Ofellus and Stertinius. The increase in dialogue is part of the same process.

It may be asked how much was contributed to the change by external factors like the political situation and the law of libel. One would be inclined to answer 'little or nothing'. It can be argued that during the period of book 1 Horace, the pardoned rebel and the son of a freedman, was deterred from writing pamphlets by the fear of the consequences—since Octavian and Antony were at least officially united. But if fear was the only deterrent one might have expected that when the two giants became estranged Horace would have felt free to make political attacks, sheltered by the power of Octavian. As we know, the very opposite took place. So it looks rather as if after Philippi Horace resolved never to become embroiled in political struggles again. Anyhow he wished to use the *sermo* for a different purpose. Personal attacks on Octavian's enemies, even if approved by Octavian himself, would have diverted attention from the moral issues which were always the poet's main concern.

As for the libel law, when one considers the vicious lampooning which was in progress during the late thirties one can hardly believe that the *Satires* ever put Horace in danger of prosecution. It has to be remembered that when Horace spoke of *mala carmina* in 2. 1. 82 he probably had the other seven poems of the book in front of him and knew perfectly well that they contained no defamatory material. The more one thinks about 2. 1. 80 ff. the less inclined one feels to take the passage as anything but a joke. The libel law existed to be sure—

¹ 2. 1. 23.

otherwise the play on the requirements of law and satire would have been pointless—but Horace was in no danger of infringing it.¹

The names are of central importance in what may be called the evolutionary approach to the *Satires*. This approach, which regards Horatian satire as a kind of living organism passing through the phases of growth, maturity, and decay, is associated in particular with the distinguished name of Eduard Fraenkel, who presents it in some detail in *Das Reifen der horazischen Satire*,² and again, more briefly, in his *Horace*.³ The facts underlying this analysis are as follows. In 1. 2, which is by common consent one of the earliest of the *Satires*, numerous people are mentioned by name and the poet himself remains out of sight; in 1. 6 the names occur in the first half only, and the rest is autobiographical; names play a much smaller part in book 2 as a whole, and in 2. 6, one of the latest pieces, they have almost disappeared, leaving the entire stage to Horace himself; finally the *Epistles* may be said to abandon personal censure still more completely in favour of a genial moral discourse centred on the poet and his friends.

Abstracted in this way the scheme is certainly impressive, but we have to see how the pattern is affected when all the other satires are included. The biological analogy when applied to art has two aspects, both of which cause trouble in the present case. The first aspect is chronological. If 1. 3 comes immediately after 1. 2 we can argue, as Fraenkel does, that it shows signs of growth, since names are fewer and vv. 63–65 give the first hint of self-portraiture. But it may well be that 1. 4, which lacks any reference to Maecenas, is earlier than 1. 3. If so, then 1. 3 marks a retrogression, for its autobiographical content cannot be compared with the account of Horace's upbringing in 1. 4. 105 ff. Again, 1. 1 is probably later than both these pieces, yet it contains no self-portraiture at all. If, however, it is earlier, why are there so few names? Finally, why should 1. 10, the latest poem in the book, be so sharply personal in tone?

The problem is not confined to book 1. A poem like 2. 3 proves on these grounds to be a less-developed specimen of Horatian satire than 1. 6; yet it can hardly represent a decline, since it was written two years before 2. 6. Fraenkel does point out that 'the evolution of the style of a poet . . . does not, as a rule, proceed in an unbroken straight line'.⁴ But once this is admitted the comparison with nature is weakened, since no fruit or vegetable periodically recedes in the course of its growth.

The other aspect of the analogy is evaluative, as may be seen from terms like 'ripeness' and 'maturity'. This means that Fraenkel's approach involves some rather severe judgements. The first part of 1. 6, for instance, is a 'parade of dreary characters' and both writer and reader are relieved 'to get out of the Lucilian masquerade'.⁵ This implies that using names was a rather regrettable mannerism which Horace had to grow out of.⁶ To Fraenkel 2. 6 represents the

¹ So even the cautious conclusion of R. E. Smith, *C.Q.* i (1951), 178, should be modified; the same applies to my own remarks in *Hermathena*, xc (1957), 51.

² *Festschrift Reitzenstein*, pp. 119 ff.

³ See e.g. 87–88, 101, 144, 152.

⁴ *Horace*, p. 101 n. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103. Cf. *Fest. Reitz.*, p. 130.

⁶ It is a short step from this to the not

uncommon idea that what Horace took from Lucilius was not 'his own', and that the early poems did not really indicate his 'true self'. The violence and grossness of certain epodes are often excused by reference to the Greek iambic tradition or the harsh circumstances of the poet's life at that period—circumstances which are supposed to have goaded him into writing poems essentially

peak of Horace's achievement as a satirist—the poet is the centre of interest and there is an absence of personal ridicule. Accepting this for the moment we ask how the rest of the book fares when measured by the same standards. All the poems, it appears, except one are found wanting. The third 'looks like a prolonged *tour de force*',¹ the fifth is 'full of vigour and brilliant wit, but acid and cynical throughout'² and when Teiresias returns to Hades 'we are not sorry to see him go'.³ All six indicate that 'the stage of over-ripeness has now arrived',⁴ and in some of them Horace has 'betrayed his noble ideal of *satura*'.⁵

These verdicts prompt us to ask whether the criteria adopted are really satisfactory. If maturity in Horatian satire is marked by self-portraiture and an absence of names, then a poem like 2. 5, which on other grounds would be considered excellent (and which is just as late as 2. 6) must be classed as inferior. Also is it not strange that the *Satires* should reach their highest point of perfection in a poem which, to quote Courbaud, 'est déjà une véritable épître'?⁶ One cannot help feeling that the *Satires* are being assessed as so many imperfect attempts at writing epistles, and that the *τελος* of the form has been placed outside the form itself.

Against these criticisms it may be urged that since the *Satires* and *Epistles* both belong to the same genus the latter must represent a more mature conception of what the genus should be like. The biological method of analysis might then be justified in this larger perspective. There is something to be said for this objection and it demands careful consideration.

Ancient writers, including Horace himself, had no uniform method of referring to the hexameters. If we let A stand for the *Satires* and B for the *Epistles* we get the following scheme:

- (1) Horace: A—*satura* (generic) (*Serm.* 2. 1. 1)
 —*saturae* (*Serm.* 2. 6. 17)
 —*sermone*s (*Epist.* 1. 4. 1; 2. 2. 60)
 A } —*sermone*s (*Epist.* 2. 1. 250)
 B }
- (2) Horace, according to the scholiasts: A *sermone*s } —*satura* (generic)⁷
 B *epistulae* }
- (3) Quintilian: A } —*satura* (generic)⁸
 [B] }
- (4) Statius: A—*satura*
 B—*epistula*⁹

alien to his nature. The ultimate stage in this approach is reached by Courbaud (op. cit., p. 21), according to whom neither epode, nor satire, nor ode provided the natural vehicle for Horace's genius; the epistle, it appears, was the only genre for which 'il fût réellement né'. One can only feel thankful that the poet discovered his proper *métier* before it was too late.

¹ Ibid., p. 145.

² Horace, p. 144.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Fest. Reitz.*, p. 135: 'das Stadium der Ueberreife eingetreten ist'.

⁵ Horace, p. 129.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 11. On the same page cf. the remark that 'une telle œuvre . . . n'est plus du tout une satire.'

⁷ *Intro.* to *Serm.* 1; *Intro.* to *Epist.* 1; cf. Porph. on *Serm.* 2. 1.

⁸ Hendrickson, *A.J.P.* xviii (1897), 316, maintains that Quint. 10. 1. 93-94 includes the *Epistles* in *satura*. This seems improbable, hence the brackets around B.

⁹ *Silv.* 1. 3. 103-4.

(5) Suetonius: A }
 B? } — *saturae*¹

(6) Sidonius: A — *sermone*
 B — *epistulae*²

Another piece of evidence may be added which I have not seen quoted in this connexion, namely Persius 1. 1. 116–18:

omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
 tangit et admissus circum praecordia ludit
 callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.

Conington and others take this as referring to playful banter of a personal kind addressed to Horace's friends. Now the analysis of Horace's names shows that such an interpretation is impossible. Conington is uneasily aware of this, so he adds: 'Possibly *amico* may refer more particularly to the *Epistles*.' Némethy too says *referendum maxime ad epistulas*. Having contrasted Lucilian satire with Horace's *Epistles* these scholars are then confronted with *callidus excusso populum suspendere naso*. Since this obviously refers to the *Satires* they are obliged to postulate a sharp antithesis between *amico* and *populum*. Such an antithesis, emphasized by asyndeton, greatly weakens the force of Persius' argument. What he wants to say is 'Lucilius was a critic in *his* way, Horace was a critic in *his* way, why shouldn't I be a critic in *my* way?' Clearly a subdivision within the Horatian *sermo* is quite out of place.

The cause of the mistake is the assumption that 116–18 describe direct, personal banter. They do not. It is *through* his satirical criticism of the public in general (118) that Horace lays his finger on the faults of his friends. They laugh at his wit, and at the same time (or perhaps a little later³) they realize that their own faults are being censured. So there is no subdivision. As one might expect, Persius is referring primarily, if not exclusively, to the *Satires*.

From the passages cited above it appears that the only term which we may safely use to embrace both *Satires* and *Epistles* is *Sermone*. *Satura* (2) should be disregarded, since it is based on a false inference of the scholiasts. They have taken the word from *Serm.* 2. 1. 1 and extended it to the *Epistles*. It is most unlikely that *satura* (3) includes the *Epistles*, and it is at least questionable whether *saturae* (5) does so. Taking *sermo*, then, as the one comprehensive term, let us remind ourselves of what it means in this context. First, it denotes a range of style, a choice of vocabulary and phrase. Thus in *Epist.* 2. 1. 250 *sermone* . . . *repentis per humum* are contrasted with an historical epic written in the grand manner. Secondly, it indicates a particular metrical form. Thirdly, it points to

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But when we pass from language, metre, and subject-matter to form and manner, a different picture emerges. Dialogue gives way to letter, and the lively direct speech which was such a feature of the *Satires* is greatly reduced. As a recent writer has said 'the conversationalist gradually absorbs the dramatist'.¹ More important is the change in manner. The emphasis moves from censure to affirmation. Moral defects are still observed, but instead of exposing them to ridicule the poet is more concerned to reform them by exhortation and advice. Adapting the remark quoted above, we might say that 'the moralist absorbs the satirist'. Names occur far less frequently than in *Serm.* 2, and the practice of *ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν* is abandoned. It is significant that *Epist.* 1. 19, a very angry poem, does not name a single adversary—a remarkable contrast with *Serm.* 1. 10. Lucilius, in short, has been left behind.

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To try to determine the value of the concept of evolution to literary theory would be far too complex a task. One feels, however, that Horace's *Satires* are not a very suitable field for that method of investigation, partly because they were all written within the space of eight or nine years and therefore belong to the same period of the poet's career, partly because within that period so few of the pieces can be dated with certainty, but mainly because, being *saturae*, they show a considerable variety of subject and treatment. Is 2. 8 more 'evolved' than 1. 1? Or is 2. 7 more 'developed' than 1. 6? Such questions are hardly to the point.

To sum up. There are fewer names in book 2 than in book 1; but the decrease is not a regular process, nor does it either enhance or diminish the *satires'* literary merit. As for self-portraiture, it does indeed form an element in many of the finest pieces, and these are to be found in the first book as often as in the second; but it is never the only element, and never, I would maintain, the most essential. Throughout Horace's *Satires* it is ridicule and criticism (however

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impersonal and however mild) that remain predominant. When these activities cease to be Horace's main concern he abandons satire and turns eventually to a more positive, though not necessarily a superior form of didactic writing, viz. the epistle. Satire must always retain a breath of the Lucilian spirit, otherwise it will turn into something else.

NIALL RUDD

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GELLIANA GRAECA

Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 1. 4. 2: *super eo enthymemate.*

THE Vatican palimpsest (A) omits the word *enthymemate* and leaves a lacuna, thus showing that the scribe found it written as Greek in his exemplar.¹ Now A has been shown² to belong to the fourth century, and therefore its authority must be greater than that of the other manuscripts (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) available for this part of Gellius. The same problem occurs in 12. 2. 14, *non pro enthymemate aliquo*, where Hertz (followed by Hosius) goes against the Greek of the manuscripts and adopts the reading of Carrio. Yet an examination of the use of the Greek dative in Cicero's Letters will show that it can be used fully as the equivalent of a Latin ablative, can be governed by prepositions taking the ablative in Latin, and can be qualified by a Latin adjective in the ablative. For example, we find, *Ad Q. Fr.* 3. 1. 5, *Iam ἀποδυτηρίῳ nihil alsius, nihil muscosius* (ablative of comparison); *Ad Att.* 1. 16. 18, *qua τοποθεσία*; *Ad Att.* 5. 21. 2, *nullo nostro εὐθυμηματι* (an interesting example, in that it contains a noun of the same formation as ἐνθυμήματι). Some examples with prepositions are: *Ad Att.* 1. 16. 18, *de Ἀμαλθείᾳ* (repeated in *Ad Att.* 2. 7. 5); *Ad Att.* 2. 1. 8, *in Platonis πολυτελείᾳ*; finally, as an example having both a preposition and an adjective, *Ad Fam.* 15. 16. 3, *in ista ipsa αἰρέσει*. Gellius himself occasionally does exactly the same thing, e.g. 1. 18 Lemma: *in ἐτυμολογία falsa*; 2. 25. 10, *pro ἀναλογίᾳ tuenda*; 5. 8 Lemma, *deque ἐτυμολογία* 13. 10. 4, *subtili ἐτύμῳ*. He also does not object to using the Greek word ἐνθυμήμα as is shown by 17. 20. 4. It is therefore clear that we may restore ἐνθυμηματι in 1. 4. 2, and also 12. 2. 14.

2. 20. 9. *M. autem Varro in libro de re rustica tertio* (3. 16. 12): *μελισσῶνας, inquit, ita facere oportet. . . . Sed hoc verbum, quo Varro usus est, Graecum est.*

The manuscripts of Varro, however, read the word as Latin, and as such it must surely be read in Gellius also. Gellius could not have gone on to explain that it is a Greek word like ἀμπελῶνες and δαφνῶνες if it already appeared as Greek in his writing. Admittedly it is very unusual for a Latin word to appear as Greek in the manuscripts, but another example may be found in the following chapter (2. 22. 2) where the word *iāgyx*, which must certainly appear as Latin, is given as Greek in all the manuscripts. We need therefore have no hesitation about reading *melissonas, inquit* in the passage under consideration. This further raises the question of the following lines in Gellius: *nam melissῶνες ita dicuntur, ut ἀμπελῶνες et δαφνῶνες*. All the manuscripts here read *melissones* and the change to Greek is adopted from the 1515 Aldine edition. It is, however, quite unnecessary, and possibly even illogical, to read it as Greek, for the same reasons for which we must read *melissonas* above.

13. 21. 25, *alio in loco non ψηρῶν τε set ψαρῶν dixit.*

Here Gellius is discussing the merits of various vowels from considerations of

¹ See M. Hertz, *Editio Maior* (Berlin 1883-5), ii, *Praef.*, p. xvi.

² See Lowe, *C.L.A.*, vol. i, no. 74.

euphony, and points out that Homer (*Iliad* 16. 583) says *κολοιούς τε ψήράς τε*. He then quotes *Iliad* 17. 755

τῶν δ' ὥς τε ψαρῶν νέφος ἔρχεται ἢ κολοιῶν.

The words *alio . . . dixit* introduce the quotation from *Iliad* 17. 755. It will be seen immediately that *ψαρῶν τε* is wrong. Homer simply could not have said *ψαρῶν τε* in this line. The *τε* must therefore either be deleted or be put in front of *ψαρῶν*. Now *τε* is not at all necessary here and it is far simpler to delete, regarding it as an incorrect addition, either taken from the preceding *ψήράς τε* or supplied (in the wrong position) from *τε ψαρῶν*.

18. 7. 4. *Videtur enim mihi* †ἐπισημαίνεσθαι.

Here Favorinus is represented as explaining the rudeness of Domitius Insanus as due to his *μελαγχολία*. The manuscripts clearly indicate ἐπισημαίνεσθαι, but various attempts have been made to emend. The early editions read ἐπιμαίνεσθαι; C. F. Hermann suggested ἐπεικῶς μαίνεσθαι; Hertz read ἐπισήμως μαίνεσθαι; Hosius merely obelized; E. Orth has recently¹ suggested ἐπίσημα ιδέσθαι. It has not, however, generally been realized that ἐπισημαίνεσθαι is possible here in a medical sense. For this use of the verb, compare Galen *περὶ τοῦ προγινώσκειν ια'* (= Kühn, *Medicorum Graecorum Opera* [Lipsiae, 1827], vol. xiv, p. 661) ἀρχομένους ἐπισημαίνεσθαι τινας which Kühn translates as *qui accessionem habere inciperent*. We may also compare the use of the noun ἐπισημασία in Galen's *περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καιρῶν στ'* (Kühn, vol. vii, p. 426), καλῶ δὲ εἰσβολὴν παροξυσμοῦ τὸν ἀκριβῶς ἤδη πρῶτον χρόνον ἀπλατῇ, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἐπισημασίαν εἰώθασιν ὀνομάζειν. Thus we may retain ἐπισημαίνεσθαι in the passage in Gellius and translate 'he seems to be showing the signs', or, more freely, 'he seems to have an attack coming on', the specific malady being the *μελαγχολία* which Favorinus proceeds to describe.

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¹ *Helmantica* (1955), p. 73.

GREEK METAPHORS OF LIGHT

SIGHT, and its object light, appear to be universal metaphors in human language, both for intellectual apprehension or activity and its objects and also for the experience of aesthetic and moral values. The figure is applied equally to the course or end of a rational approach to knowledge, giving scarcely-felt imagery like 'I see', 'look into', etc., or to a pictorially described 'illumination' or 'vision' that lies beyond the range of reason. Some phrases are applicable in both senses; to 'see the light' may connote either logical grasp of a fact or religious conversion.

The development of some uses of the metaphor may be traced in Greek writers of the classical period, and the study is perhaps worth making, if only in brief outline.

In Homer some recurring expressions show that the line between literal and figurative meaning is not easy to draw. Such are phrases in which either the body's or the mind's eye 'sees' danger or trouble in some form approaching.

Il. 20. 481, *πρόσθ' ὁρώων θάνατον.*

Il. 18. 250, *ὁ γὰρ οἶος ὄρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω.*

Cf. *Od.* 24. 452; *Il.* 1. 343, the same phrase with *νοῆσαι* (see below); *Il.* 3. 109-10, with *λεύσσει.*

λεύσσει can introduce an object-clause, with the same ambiguity of meaning, or a question, with the sense of considering a plan.

Il. 1. 120, *λεύσετε γὰρ τό γε πάντες, ὁ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη.*

Il. 3. 110, *λεύσει, ὅπως ὅχ' ἄριστα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γένηται.*

But for the sense of pondering or contriving *μερμηρίζω* and *ὀρμαίνω* are more frequent.

σκέπτομαι, correlative of *σκοπῶ* which becomes one of the commonest words in figurative use, appears to be always literal in Homer.

ὄσσομαι has characteristically the figurative sense of seeing with the mind's eye, whether in present imagination or in foreboding.

Od. 1. 115, *ὄσσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ φρεσίν.* Cf. *Od.* 20. 81.

Il. 18. 224, *ὄσσοντο γὰρ ἄλγεα θυμῷ.*

Od. 10. 374, *κακὰ δ' ὄσσετο θυμός.* Cf. *Od.* 18. 154.

ὀπίζομαι conveys 'regard' in the sense of respect or awe.

Il. 18. 216, *μητρός . . . ὀπίζετ' ἐφετμήν.*

Il. 22. 332, *ἐμὲ δ' οὐδὲν ὀπίξο νόσφιν ἔοντα.*

The confusion between literal and figurative uses is illustrated by *νοῶ*, which later comes to denote specifically intellectual perception. In Homer it frequently means to see in the physical sense, passing on to several metaphorical uses—understand, purpose, contrive—followed by *ὅπως* or an infinitive.

Il. 3. 21-2, *τὸν ὡς ἐνόησεν . . . | ἐρχόμενον.*

Od. 18. 228, *θυμῷ νοέω καὶ οἶδα ἕκαστα.*

Il. 9. 600, *μή μοι ταῦτα νόει φρεσίν.*

Il. 10. 224-5, *πρὸ δ' τοῦ ἐνόησεν, | ὅπως κέρδος ἔη.*

Od. 11. 62-63, *οὐκ ἐνόησα | . . . καταβῆναι.*

φαίνω and φαίνομαι take a number of figurative or semi-figurative meanings.

Od. 8. 499, φαῖνε δ' αἰοδὴν.

Il. 7. 325, ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή.

Od. 4. 519, ὅτε . . . ἐφαίνετο νόστος.

While the verbs show in Homer this variety of usage, the noun φάος has one distinctive figurative sense, that of salvation or help.

Il. 6. 6, φάως δ' ἐτάροισιν ἔθηκεν.

Also occasionally of a person—pride or comfort.

Od. 16. 23, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερόν φάος.

σκότος can be semi-figurative of the darkness of death.

Il. 4. 461, τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσε κάλυπεν.

σκότιος appears once as equivalent to νόθος.

Il. 6. 24, σκότιον δὲ ἐ γείνατο μήτηρ.

λαμπρός, later figurative in a distinctive use, is only literal in Homer.

With Pindar the metaphor of light is very frequent in one usage, as applied to the radiant distinction or fame of a person or object. There do not seem to be many instances of subjective use of verbs of sight to denote mental perception.

The most characteristic words are φάος, φέγγος, ἀγλαός, λαμπρός, λάμπω, φλέγομαι.

Pyth. 8. 96–97, ὅταν αἶγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ, | λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεσιν.

Ol. 2. 53–56, πλοῦτος . . . | ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος, ἐτυμώτατον | ἀνδρὶ φέγγος.

Nem. 3. 83–84, τίν γε μὲν . . . δέδορκεν φάος.

Pyth. 11. 45, εὐφροσύνα τε καὶ δόξ' ἐπιφλέγει.

Isth. 1. 22, λάμπει δὲ σαφὴς ἀρετά.

Fr. 99 b 3, 'Hσυχίας τὸ φαιδρὸν φάος.

φάος is also used of a person, as in Homer.

Isth. 2. 17, ἄνδρα . . . Ἀκραγαντίνων φάος.

σκότος and cognate words are by contrast used to convey the disgrace of obscurity, failure, neglect, or deception.

Ol. 1. 83, ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος.

Nem. 7. 61, σκοτεινὸν ἀπέχων ψόγον.

Nem. 7. 12–14, μεγάλοι . . . ἀλκαὶ | σκότον . . . ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι.

Nem. 8. 32–34, ἐχθρὰ . . . | ἃ τὸ μὲν λαμπρὸν βιᾶται, | τῶν δ' ἀφάντων κύδος ἀντείνει σαθρόν.

τυφλός is found in the sense of mental blindness to the right course or to true worth.

Isth. 5. 56, οὔτοι τετύφλωται μακρὸς | μόχθος ἀνδρῶν.

Nem. 7. 23–24, τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει | ἥτορ ὁμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλείστος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἔ τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, κτλ.

Sir Maurice Bowra,¹ writing on the Proem of Parmenides, stresses the implication in Pindar's imagery of truth as an integral part of glory and fame. Both

¹ *Problems in Greek Poetry*, pp. 38 ff.

Pindar and Parmenides, he argues, 'regard knowledge as a kind of enlightenment, ignorance as a kind of darkness' (p. 41). He quotes *Nem.* 7. 12-14 as typical of these meanings, and argues that the metaphor of Light (Darkness in relation to knowledge starts from the period of these two writers. It must be allowed that the sense of 'being known' is often present in words like *λαμπρός*, but the idea of 'brightness' confronting the mind's eye is surely more essential. The imagery is strongly visual, and the real parallel to Pindar's language is found rather in those passages (e.g.) of the *Phaedrus* where Plato uses terms from the Mysteries, or in his description of the Good as τὸ πᾶσι φῶς παρέχον,² than in the development of language applied to the subjective experience of the approach to knowledge. In Parmenides' Proem, as Bowra rightly says, 'the transition from Night to Day is the transition from ignorance to knowledge'.³ There is, however, little or nothing to be found in the fragments of further use of the metaphor of light in either a subjective or an objective application.

The tradition that Heraclitus from the obscurity of his sayings was called ὁ σκοτεινός appears first in the Aristotelian *De Mundo* 396^b20, but may well come from a much earlier date. σκοτεινός and cognate words become established in prose usage to connote obscurity or deceit.

Plato, *Rep.* 558 d, ἵνα μὴ σκοτεινῶς διαλεγώμεθα.

Laus 864 c, μετὰ σκότους καὶ ἀπάτης.

Aeschin. 2. 34, σκοτεινὸν προοίμιον.

The pre-Socratic philosophers themselves do not appear to contribute anything to our inquiry.

With the tragic writers some of the characteristic Homeric and Pindaric imagery recurs, with bold metaphors especially in choric passages. In dialogue, usages appear which become familiar in prose. Light connotes salvation, glory, virtue, also certainty and truth. *λαμπρός* and *φῶς* are frequent, and both may be applied to persons. Verbs of sight may also convey perception of fact, provision, precaution.

Aesch. *Pers.* 150-1, ἦδε θεῶν ἴσον ὀφθαλμοῖς | φάος ὀρμάται μήτηρ βασιλέως.

Ag. 389, πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος.

772, Δίκη δὲ λάμπει . . . ἐν δυσκάπνοισι δώμασιν.

Cho. 809, ἐλευθερίας φῶς λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν.

Eum. 797, λαμπρὰ μαρτύρια.

Soph. *El.* 66, ἐχθροῖς ἄστρον ὥς λάμψειν.

Ant. 599-600, νῦν γὰρ . . . | ἐτέτατο φάος ἐν Οἰδίπου δόμοις.

Trach. 1174, ταῦτ' . . . λαμπρὰ συμβαίνει.

Eur. El. 37, λαμπροὶ . . . ἐς γένος.

Or. 243-4, ἥκει φῶς ἐμοῖς . . . κακοῖς | ἀνὴρ.

Suppl. 324-5, αἱ δ' ἥσυχαι σκοτεινὰ πρᾶσσουσai πόλεις | σκοτεινὰ καὶ βλέπουσιν εὐλαβούμεναι.

Characteristic of tragedy (also occasional in Homer) are those mixed metaphors for which W. B. Stanford⁴ adopts the term *intersensual*, as 'catachrestic usages of verbs meaning 'to see' or 'to hear' for the general sensuous term 'to perceive'".

¹ *Phaedrus* 249-50.

² *Republic* 540a.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴ *Greek Metaphor*, pp. 47 ff.

Examples importing words of sight:

Od. 8. 499, φαῖνε δ' αἰδῆν.

Aesch. Pers. 395, σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν.

Soph. Trach. 693, δέρομαι φάτιν.

O.T. 186, παιᾶν δὲ λάμπει.

El. 1410, ἰδοὺ μάλ' αὖ θροεῖ τις.

Eur. El. 1039, ὁ φόγος λαμπρύνεται.

While in some instances (e.g. *Aesch. Pers.* 395) the combination gives great vividness of effect, in most the general sense of perception appears to be superseding the proper meaning of the words of sight.

Euripides in one or two examples suggests a conscious correlation of the visual with the intellectual faculty.

Eur. Hel. 122, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὅσοις εἰδόμην· καὶ νοὺς ὄρᾱ.

Phoen. 463-4, ἐφ' οἷσιν ἦκει, ταῦτα χρὴ μόνον σκοπεῖν, | κακῶν δὲ τῶν πρὶν μηδενὸς μνείαν ἔχειν.

The use of verbs of sight, chiefly ὄρῶ, to connote knowledge, provision, precaution, etc., is found mainly in dialogue passages, with various constructions, and is specially characteristic of Sophocles. On a rough count, Aeschylus gives 14 such examples in 7 plays, Sophocles 38 in 7, Euripides 43 in 20.

Aesch. P.V. 259, οὐχ ὄρᾱς ὅτι | ἡμαρτες;

Eum. 269, ὄψῃ δὲ κεῖ τις ἄλλος ἦλτεν.

Soph. Trach. 706, ὄρῶ δὲ μ' ἔργον δεινὸν ἐξευρασμένην.

Aj. 1313, ὄρα μὴ τοῦμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σόν.

Ant. 1270, τὴν δίκην ἰδεῖν.

Phil. 519, ὄρα . . . μὴ . . . εὐχερὲς παρῆς.

Eur. Hipp. 379, τῇδ' ἀθρητέον τόδε.

I.A. 674, χρὴ τὸ γ' εὐσεβὲς σκοπεῖν.

Tro. 931, τὸν ἐνθεν δ' ὡς ἔχει σκέψαι λόγον.

As against the weakening metaphor in verbs like ὄρῶ and σκοπῶ, the use of βλέπω and its compounds is found in a figurative (or semi-figurative) sense of appealing for help or consideration, or again regarding a standard. The usage (mainly with ἐς or πρὸς) seems most frequent with Euripides.

Soph. El. 958-9, ἐς τίν' ἐλπίδων | βλέψας' . . . ;

Eur. Med. 247, πρὸς μίαν ψυχὴν βλέπειν.

I.T. 928, τὸ δ' Ἄργος πρὸς σὲ νῦν ἀποβλέπει.

Andr. 404, πρὸς τί χρὴ βλέπειν;

With the prose writers of the fifth and fourth centuries the use of σκοπεῖν or ὄρᾶν to denote intellectual perception or inquiry becomes confirmed, especially in passages of direct speech, with the addition of compounds such as προορᾶν or ἐνορᾶν, and often in close conjunction with words of thinking.

Hdt. 1. 120, σέο . . . προοπτέον ἐστί. . . εἰ φοβερὸν τι ἐνωρῶμεν . . .

Thuc. 1. 10, ἀπιστεῖν . . . σκοπεῖν . . . νομίζειν . . .

Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 40, σκέψασθε εἰ . . . μέγα φρονητέον.

Dem. Lept. 54, πάλαι . . . ἐσκέφθαι ταῦτα καὶ ἐγνώσθαι προσήκεν.

Examples of 'intersensual' metaphor are also found.

Dem. Ol. 3. 1, ὅταν . . . ἀποβλέψω . . . πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὐς ἀκούω.

Plato's uses of the metaphor of light are repeated and various. It appears constantly in the subjective application, signifying by a verb (most frequently σκοπῶ) the use of the mind's eye to 'look into' a matter under discussion. Typically it is Socrates who uses the figure in leading an inquiry, often with an imperative or hortatory subjunctive. Instances are very frequent in passages of close investigation, as in *Meno*, parts of *Phaedo*, and *Theaetetus*. A few examples from *Meno* will serve.

Meno 82c, ὦδε δὲ σκόπει.

87b, ὑποθέμενοι . . . σκοπῶμεν.

87d, δοκεῖ . . . σκεπτέον εἶναι.

78c, ἴδωμεν . . . τοῦτο εἰ ἀληθὲς λέγεις.

82a, οὐ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέψας εἶπον.

The metaphor of blindness is sometimes correlated with sight in this application to thought.

Gorg. 479b, κινδυνεύουσι . . . τὸ ἀλγεινὸν . . . καθορᾶν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ὠφέλιμον τυφλῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἀγνοεῖν κτλ.

Phaedo 96c, ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς σκέψεως οὕτω σφόδρα ἐτυφλώθη, ὥστε ἀπέμαθον κτλ.

Theaet. 174c, ἀμβλὺ καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ὁρῶντων, οὐ δυναμένων εἰς τὸ πᾶν αἰεὶ βλέπειν καὶ λογίζεσθαι κτλ.

So far, Plato uses imagery already established in prose usage, and often little felt. But with βλέπω and ἀποβλέπω, in particular, he brings in stronger metaphors following in part the usages of tragedy.

Gorg. 507d, ὁ σκοπὸς . . . πρὸς ὃν βλέποντα δεῖ ζῆν.

Rep. 484c, μὴ δὲ δυνάμενοι ὥσπερ γραφῆς εἰς τὸ ἀληθέστατον ἀποβλέποντες κτλ.

Similes of this kind, referring to the painter's work, are frequent in the *Republic* 377e, 500e-501c, 504d, 540c, etc.

Cf. *Theaet.* 187a, b, ὅρα . . . πάντα τὰ πρόσθεν ἐξαλείφας, εἴ τι μᾶλλον καθορᾶς.

Tim. 26c, ἀκουόμενα . . . οἷον ἐγκαύματα ἀνεκπλύτου γραφῆς ἔμμονά μοι γέγονεν.

Laws 769a, καθάπερ ζωγράφων . . . ἡ πραγματεία κτλ.

The outstanding application of the metaphor in Plato's thought is found in his description of the Form as παράδειγμα, with particulars as εἰκόνες or μιμήματα.

Parm. 132d, τὰ μὲν εἶδη . . . ὥσπερ παραδείγματα ἐστάναι ἐν τῇ φύσει, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τούτοις εἰκέναι κτλ.

As so far illustrated, Plato's metaphors of light are used to denote the standpoint of the percipient subject. In another type of application they convey the quality of the object contemplated, and show much affinity with earlier and poetic imagery.

In *Republic* 6-7, where the metaphor dominates, the two applications are combined. In the Sun parable, sight connotes knowledge, the sun and its light truth and supreme value. Words from the poets carry a strong emotional meaning.

Rep. 478c, δόξα is described as γνώσεως μὲν σκοτωδέστερον, ἀγνοίας δὲ φανότερον. 506c, τυφλά τε καὶ σκολιά contrasted with φανὰ τε καὶ καλά.

The distinction developed in this passage between *ὁρατά* and *νοητά* illustrates how completely *νοῶ* and its cognates have passed from the Homeric sense of 'see' to the characteristic meaning 'think'.

Amid the elaborate imagery of the Sun and the Cave allegories (separated by the Line, itself an appeal to the visual faculty), one or two rather strange inconsistencies remain. Plato appears to disregard, in order to maintain the analogy with intellectual perception of the Good, the impossibility of the Sun's being directly regarded by the human eye. If we in our atmosphere are aware of this limitation, he must have been yet more so; and in fact there are passages elsewhere in which by implication he admits it.

Phaedo 99 d, e, οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλείποντα θεωροῦντες καὶ σκοποῦμενοι . . . διαφθείρονται τὰ ὄμματα, εἴαν μὴ ἐν ὕδατι . . . σκοπῶνται τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ. Here, whatever the philosophical interpretation, it is clearly suggested that to look directly at the sun, even in eclipse, is unwise.

Laus 897d, μὴ . . . ἐξ ἐναντίας οἶον εἰς ἥλιον ἀποβλέποντες, νύκτα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἐπαγόμενοι, ποιησώμεθα τὴν ἀπόκρισιν . . . πρὸς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐρωτῶμενου βλέποντας ἀσφαλέστερον ὁρᾶν.

But in the *Republic* he ignores the difficulty, after once saying that it is easier for the unaccustomed eye to see *first* shadows, reflections, and the like.

516b, τελευταῖον δὴ . . . τὸν ἥλιον . . . αὐτὸν καθ' αὐτὸν . . . δύναιτ' ἂν κατιδεῖν καὶ θεάσασθαι οἷός ἐστιν.

532a, ἀποβλέπειν . . . πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἥλιον.

Another incongruity in this passage appears in the introduction of the fire in the Cave. A fire may be expected to flame and flicker, but this one by implication merely glows. The movement of the shadows on the back wall is supplied by the action of the invisible bearers, and there is no suggestion of an unstable light contributing to the illusions which are rife within the Cave. Presumably the intention is to keep exact here, as in the parallelism of the whole passage, the continuous proportion Fire : Sun : Good.

In conveying, though never defining, the apprehension of the Good, Plato's visual imagery varies between the simple metaphor of sight and language which carries poetic and emotional effect.

517 b, c, φαίνεται . . . ἐν τῷ γνωστῷ τελευταία ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέα καὶ μόγις ὁρᾶσθαι.

But 518a, ἐκ φανότερου βίου ἤκουσα.

518c, στρέφειν πρὸς τὸ φανὸν ἐκ τοῦ σκοτώδους . . . εἰς τοῦ ὄντος φανότατον.

540a, ἀναγκαστέον ἀνακλίναντας τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐγὴν εἰς αὐτὸ ἀποβλέψαι τὸ πᾶσι φῶς παρέχον, καὶ ἰδόντας τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτό, παραδείγματι χρωμένους ἐκείνῳ κτλ.

Two passages in other dialogues carry the same poetic atmosphere in reference to the soul's experience of the Forms. In *Symp.* 210 ff. the language is throughout that of sight, literal and obvious when the starting-point is the perception of visual beauty, but becoming metaphorical as the process goes forward.

Symp. 210c, θεάσασθαι τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καλὸν . . . καὶ βλέπων πρὸς πολὺ ἤδη τὸ καλόν . . . ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πέλαιος τετραμμένος τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ θεωρῶν . . . ἕως ἂν . . . κατιδῇ τινὰ ἐπιστήμην . . . ἣ ἐστὶ καλοῦ τοιοῦδε . . . 210c, ἐξαίφνης κατόψεται τι θαυμαστὸν τὴν φύσιν καλόν.

Here the imagery of sight is consistent. Perhaps the nearest counterpart to the dramatic effect of *ἐξαίφνης* is the passage in *Ep.* 7. 341c, *ἐκ πολλῆς συνοουσίας . . . ἐξαίφνης, οἷον ἀπὸ πυρὸς πηδήσαντος ἐξαφθὲν φῶς, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γενόμενον* κτλ.

In the *Phaedrus* the prenatal experience recovered by *ἀνάμνησις* (a concept not found in the *Republic*) is again conveyed by the imagery of sight. The reality envisaged is (247c) *ἡ . . . ἀχρώματός τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ ἀναφῆς οὐσία . . . ψυχῆς κυβερνήτῃ μόνῳ θεατῇ νῶ*. The characteristic words of sight here used are *καθορᾶν* and *θεᾶσθαι*, and they are combined with terms associated with the Mysteries.

Phaedr. 248b, *ἀτελεῖς τῆς τοῦ ὄντος θέας*.

250a, *λήθην ὧν τότε εἶδον ἱερῶν*.

250b, *δικαιοσύνης . . . οὐκ ἔνεστι φέγγος οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὁμοιώμασιν . . . κάλλος δὲ τότε ᾗν ἰδεῖν λαμπρόν, ὅτε . . . μακαρίαν ὄψιν τε καὶ θέαν . . . εἶδον . . . ἐποπτεύοντες ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρά*.

κάλλος is the outstanding Form, as the object of *ἔρω*s, and is vividly described—250d, *ἐλαμπεν . . . στίλβον ἐναργέστατα*. But the metaphor covers all the Forms of being.

The language of this passage raises unsolved questions, regarding Plato's attitude to the Mysteries, the supra-rational experience of the Forms that is here implied, and the further problem of *ἀνάμνησις*, whether itself a metaphor or an article of genuine belief. No less surely the visual imagery pervading the whole carries the mind's eye back to the radiant world of Pindar.

The metaphor of light in its various uses comes to full fruition in Plato; from him it passes through post-classical writers to Plotinus, and continues to inform the language of European reasoning and mysticism alike. In Greek of the classical period its further use follows the accepted lines in application to mental activity.

Aristotle develops in particular the use of *θεωρεῖν*, more common with him than *σκοπεῖν*, in the sense of mental contemplation.

Pol. A. 5. 1254^a20, *τῷ λόγῳ θεωρῆσαι*.

De An. A. 402^a7, *θεωρῆσαι καὶ γνῶναι τὴν φύσιν [τῆς ψυχῆς]*.

In the intransitive use the verb and its cognates denote active thought.

De An. B. 412^a21–22, *σώματος ἐντελέχεια . . . λέγεται διχῶς, ἡ μὲν ὡς ἐπιστήμη, ἡ δ' ὡς τὸ θεωρεῖν*.

Eth. Nic. A. 1095^b19, *ὁ [βίος] θεωρητικός*.

A few more picturesque uses of the metaphor are found.

Eth. Nic. A. 1114^b6, *φῶναι δεῖ ὥσπερ ὄψιν ἔχοντα, ἥ κρινεῖ καλῶς*.

Eth. Nic. A. 1100^b30, *διαλάμπει τὸ καλόν*.

Rhet. Γ. 1411^b12—a metaphor of unknown origin, quoted as illustrating a point of analogy: *καὶ ὅτι "τὸν νοῦν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἀνῆψεν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ"*. *ἀμφὼ γὰρ δηλοῖ τι*.

DOROTHY TARRANT

ENNIANA III

1. *ANNALS* 105 and 98

GROUNDLESS assumption in scholarship is generally soon swept away. Seldom does an interpretation which has little to commend it survive as long as that which I here propose to refute.¹

As an example of *stolidus* meaning *stultus* Festus (317. 13 M.) quotes from the first book of the *Annals* (105 V.):

nam ui depugnare sues stolidi soliti sunt.

Columna (1585)² does not comment on the context of the line, and Merula (1595), followed as usual by Spangenberg (1825), connects it with the founding of Alba Longa. It was A. Koch who, in his *Exercitationes criticae* (Diss. Bonn, 1851), p. 4, gave the interpretation which has since held the field: the speaker, he maintained, was Hersilia, trying to reconcile the fathers and Roman husbands of the Sabine women. The unanimity with which this proposal was received³ is truly astonishing, since general considerations condemn it no less harshly than a precise interpretation of the words.

The speeches in the *Annals*, as I have pointed out elsewhere,⁴ are vigorous, incisive, and to the point. The famous speech of Pyrrhus (194-201), Hannibal's address to his soldiers (280-1), and the exhortation of an unknown commander to his troops (391-2) may be taken as specimens of their universal excellence. Here, however, Ennius is supposed to have used what we know to be a philosophical and rhetorical commonplace, exhorting men to settle their differences in the spirit of reason and justice, and leave brute force to the animals (Hesiod, *Erga* 277 ff.; Lysias 2. 19; Cicero, *de off.* 1. 34; 81); a commonplace, moreover, which, as it suits almost any appeal for keeping the peace, is absurdly out of place on this of all occasions. Not the most contemptible of writers would make women, who see their fathers and husbands about to slay each other, talk in this anaemic fashion. The historian rises to the occasion (Liv. 1. 13. 2): *ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent; ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum hi progeniem*. No proof is needed to convince us that Ennius was aware of the dramatic possibilities offered by this situation. But proof there is, and it is cogent: viz. his drama, the *Sabinae*, from which just these words have come down (scen. 370 f. V.):

cum spolia generis detraxeritis,
quam inscriptionem dabit⁵

¹ I have held the view to be set forth here for many years. A very brief summary can be found in the *Proceedings of the Class. Assoc.* xvi (1949), 27 (cf. S. Timpanaro, *Innsbrucker Anz.* v [1952], 202); but an elaboration seems to be called for (H. Fuchs, *Mus. Helv.* xii [1955], 203, n. 8).

² Hieronymus Columna's edition of Ennius was published after his death by his son Johannes at Naples *ex officina Salviae* in 1590. It seems to have escaped the bibliographies that the first two parts of that edition, containing the *Annals* and most of the minor works, appeared as early as 1585, seen through the press

by H. Columna himself. I possess a copy of this earlier edition, from which the first two parts of the complete edition differ only in carrying a slightly amended *Elenchus fragmentorum* on p. 1, the corrections referring to it on p. 304 being omitted.

³ It is accepted, for example, by Vahlen¹ (1854) and ²(1903), L. Mueller (1884), Bachrens (1886), Valmaggia (1900), Diehl (1910), E. M. Stuart (1922), Warmington (1935), Heurgon (1958; see p. 10, n. 3).

⁴ *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*, Inaugural Lecture (London, 1953), p. 15.

⁵ The epigram envisaged here by Hersilia

That, instead of pointing to the monstrosity of this fight, Hersilia should have delivered a harangue directed against fighting in general seems to me inconceivable.

When we proceed from general considerations to a close analysis of the fragment itself, Koch's interpretation is again seen to break down. What is the behaviour advocated, the contrast to *ui depugnare* as practised by *sues stolidi*? If it is 'keeping the peace', as the *communis opinio* holds, then both *ui* and *stolidi* are stultified, and the boar is used to symbolize war as opposed to peace, although he is no more given to fighting than many other wild animals. In fact the boar is characterized not so much by eagerness to fight as by savagery and unreasoning fury once he is aroused. Savagery is to the fore in the Homeric similes, or when the boar is used in heraldry; and all accounts, both ancient and modern, of hunting the boar stress his unreasoning fury, which makes him rush blindly into the spear held out against him: *ruit oppositi nitens in vulnera ferri*. This is why Aristotle calls him ἀμαθής (*hist. an.* 488^b), and when Ennius calls him *stolidus* he refers to the manner of his fighting, not to the fact that he does, on occasion, fight. The contrast to *ui depugnare* is therefore not *pacem agere* but *astu pugnare* or *rem gerere*: *astu non ui*. I give as instances of this contrast the first that come to hand: Livy 28. 21. 10 *maior usu armorum et astu facile stolidas vires minoris superavit*; Sil. 5. 100 *bellandum est astu: leuior laus in duce dextrae*.

It so happens that this contrast is put explicitly in a line quoted, again by Festus (p. 298. 3 M.), and again from the first book of the *Annals*, as an example of *sum = eum* (98 V.):

astu non ui sum summam seruare decet rem.

The manuscript has *at tu non ut sum*, which was brilliantly emended by Vahlen in his first edition. Baehrens, Valmaggi, and even his detractor L. Mueller followed him without hesitation. In his second edition, however, Vahlen, old and conservative, retained the transmitted reading and tried to explain it by comparing Hor. *sat.* 1. 6. 90 ff. *non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars . . . sic me defendam*. Miss Steuart and Warmington were unduly impressed by this (and Diehl so perplexed that he has lost the line altogether). The Horatian construction is as natural and smooth, and acceptable in the easy style of the *Satires*, as the transmitted text of Ennius with Vahlen's supplement *sic simili cura premeris* is harsh and jarring. *non ut magna pars*, says Horace, *sic me defendam*, two subjects and their actions being compared, and *sic defendam* picking up the defence put forward explicitly in the *ut*-clause. Ennius is supposed to start off with the nominative *tu*, clashing immediately with the object accusative *sum*, and to compare in the main clause something which in the *ut*-clause is contained only by implication, an implication which in strict logic would require *oportet* rather than *decet*. That is not absolute nonsense, or Vahlen would not have suggested it, and it can be improved (see below). But it is dark and involved, and the reading of Vahlen¹ is brilliant and simple; and that reading is bought at no cost at all. *ut* for *ui* is one of the commonest of all corruptions; in the Festus MS. I have seen it at 162. 28, and anybody searching will probably find it more often. As to *astu*, it is often corrupted to *artu(m)* or *actu*; it appears as *at tu(te)* in Plaut. *Cas.* 488.

would dwell on the portentous nature of the victory, e.g. thus:

Qui uiduas natas, orbos fecere nepotes
Detracta haec generis dant pia dona Ioui.

The transmitted reading has recently found a valiant champion in S. Mariotti,¹ who defends it with two arguments, both impressive at first sight, both on closer examination found to be mistaken:

1. The so-called *Carmen de figuris*, written about A.D. 400, has under *προσανόδοις* the following lines (112-14):

est subnexio propositis subnectere quaeque:
 'at nos non ut tu: nos simplicitate, tu arte'
 'hoc das, hoc adimis nobis: das spes, adimis res.'

Since two examples of the *Carmen* go back to Ennian passages,² Mariotti considers it certain that *at nos non ut tu* reflects, and thus guarantees, the reading *at tu non ut sum*. He overlooks two facts: (a) Nothing shows that the author of the *Carmen* read Ennius. The two examples going back to Ennius are, as Mariotti himself admits, taken from Rutilius Lupus and Cicero, whereas *Ann.* 98 is not, and could not be, quoted in rhetorical literature. Moreover, in those two examples the rhetorical figure belongs to Ennius, whilst the words are greatly altered; in our instance the words are supposed to be a close echo of Ennius, whilst the figure does not belong to Ennius at all. (b) In order to compress an example of *προσανόδοις* into a single hexameter, the author was compelled to use monosyllables (he has seven in 113, six in 114), and the most obvious pair of contrasting monosyllables is *nos* and *tu*; are we to assume that the author needed a line of Ennius (where *tu* and *sum* are contrasted), in order to bring *nos* and *tu* into a relationship which he could explain in the second half of the line? On all counts the resemblance to Ennius must be judged fortuitous.

2. As transmitted, 98 begins with five monosyllables. Such lines are exceedingly rare. But, Mariotti observes, line 76, which is attested for the same book and has been assigned to the same context by many editors, and further, in all probability also line 100, which certainly belongs to the context tentatively assigned to the two others, begin with runs of monosyllables, six and five respectively: *ast hic quem nunc tu tam toruiter increpuisti* and *hoc, nec* (or *neque?* nisi codd.) *tu; nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas*. Since, then, argues Mariotti, measured against the all-over rarity of the phenomenon, the accumulation of monosyllables in this context is obviously deliberate, 76 and 100 forbid us to alter *at tu* to *astu* in 98. Now I will waive all objections based on the uncertainty whether the fragments do in fact belong together. But I must ask: If the runs of monosyllables are used deliberately, what is the motive?³ Mariotti is not slow to give the answer: Quint. inst. 9. 4. 42 says: *etiam monosyllaba, si plura sunt, male continuabuntur, quia necesse est compositio multis clausulis concisa subsullet*. 'Appunto questa spezzatura, questo concitato *subsultare* del discorso poteva "rappresentare", all'inizio di discorsi accentuamente polemici, la martellante violenza di un *convicium*.' If so, I cannot find much hammering violence in the sentence containing the awkward comparison, restored by Mariotti more skilfully than by Vahlen as: *at tu non, ut sum summam servare decet rem, sic diuom augurio tali dignatus honore es*, a sentence which, incidentally, can hardly be all'inizio of a speech. But the whole idea of the *martellante violenza* of

¹ S.I.F.C. xxxi (1959), 229 ff.

² l. 51 ~ scen. 408; l. 172 ~ an. 310.

³ Ennius once uses a line with nine monosyllables, *Ann.* 431 *si luci, si nox, si mox, si*

iam data sit frux, obviously a playful jingle entirely unrelated to our lines, which do not jingle in the least.

monosyllables is mistaken. Monosyllables are incapable of producing the parallelism of form and sound which conveys violence and excitement so strikingly in Plaut. *Pers.* 408 ff.:

impure, inhoneste, iniure, inlex, labes popli,
pecuniai accipiter auide atque inuide.
procax, rapax, trahax—trecentis uersibus
tuas impuritas traloqui nemo potest.

But perhaps Ennius' ideas about this differed from what was obviously Plautus' and the Roman people's idea. Well then, look at his fiercest quarrelling scene, the argument between Agamemnon and Menelaus, *scen.* 222-7: you will find no marked use of monosyllables, other than personal and deictic pronouns. These indeed are bound to be frequent in argument, and here lies half the answer to our problem.

Altogether Ennius' hexameters are often very spondaic and monosyllabic. 131 opens *at sese sum quae* (or *se se?*), 151 *circum sos quae sunt*, and at 336 *quae nunc te coquit et* Ennius would unhesitatingly have written *quae nunc te uolt et*, if *uolt* had been the verb which his context required. Add to this the greater need for monosyllabic pronouns in argument, and it appears that the monosyllabic runs of 76 and 100 are fortuitous and cannot therefore be adduced to defend the transmitted reading of 98 (beyond showing that it is metrically possible, which no one denies). That reading stood condemned before, and the alternative *astu non ui* is now assured beyond reasonable doubt by the fact that a line from the same book implicitly but unmistakably demands that contrast.

In the lines thus connected a ruler or leader is urged to use planning or stratagem instead of blind force, or else he justifies his action (or a third person justifies that of the ruler), whether proposed or already carried out. We might read the passage as follows:

nam ui depugnare sues stolidi soliti sunt:
(cui data cura uiro regnum populumque tuendi),
astu non ui sum summam seruare decet rem;

or, if the line interpolated seems too smooth, we might employ here a line, attested without book number, which usually for no very cogent reason is attributed to book 2, 3, or 5:

157 et qui se sperat Romae regnare Quadratae.¹

It would certainly be impossible to insert here l. 76

ast hic quem nunc tu tam toruiter increpuisti,

since, contrary to what Miss Steuart says, *hic* cannot be taken up by *sum* in the following line. Nor do I think that l. 97

Iuppiter, ut muro fretus magis quamde manus ui

should persuade us to seek the context in the quarrel over the wall: *astu*, unless we credit Ennius with a horrible pun on *āstru*, would fit the situation very badly. I foresee that this circumstance will be used as an argument against

¹ *et quis* (*ecquis* Merula; *ecqui* Timpanaro) *se sperat* Salmassius: *et quis est erat* cod., cf. Timpanaro, *Maia* iii (1950), 26 ff., who

attractively thinks of one of the three pretenders to the kingship in 485, 439, or 385 B.C.

restoring *astu*, and I must therefore point out that the transmitted text, apart from the syntactical improbability discussed above, would, if attributed to the quarrel over the wall, involve us in a further difficulty: it would compel us to assume, most improbably, that a third person intervenes between the twins, since Romulus could refer to himself by *sum* only in the apodosis to a relative clause as constituted above, not in the sentence structure as transmitted.

The best-known stratagem connected with the beginnings of Rome concerns the Sabine women. Reading in Livy 1. 9. 6 *aegre id* (the refusal of *conubium* by the neighbouring communities) *Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad uim spectare res coepit. cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans ludos ex industria parat*, we need perhaps look no farther for a suitable context, though the detail naturally remains obscure. For l. 105 this interpretation was given by Pascoli, and Valmaggì seems to me to have said nothing to invalidate it.

2. *ANNALS* 500

One of the most memorable lines which have survived from the *Annals* was quoted by Cicero in the fifth book of the *Republic* and is quoted from there, together with Cicero's comment, by St. Augustine, *civ.* 2. 21:

moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque;

quem quidem ille uersum, inquit, uel breuitate uel ueritate tamquam ex oraculo quodam mihi esse effatus uidetur.

Like many of the best lines of Ennius it seems to come from a speech,¹ and the speaker and the occasion have been guessed at in various ways. The solution of the riddle seems to me suggested by the context in which it is quoted in a 'letter of the emperor Marcus' by Vulcacijs, *Auid. Cass.* 5. 7: *neque enim milites regi possunt nisi uetere disciplina. scis enim uersum a bono poeta dictum et omnibus frequentatum 'm.a.r.s.R.u.'* The emperor Marcus knew his Ennius² and knew the context of the line. It is true that this letter, like so many other documents of the *Historia Augusta*, lies under the gravest suspicion of not being genuine; and yet the forger who was clever enough to make the pupil of Fronto quote a line from Ennius may well have chosen it on account of its context. I see at least a hint here that the line was concerned with the preservation of military discipline. The word *astu* in l. 105 made us turn to Livy's account of the best-known stratagem within our terms of reference: the most famous example of the vindication of military discipline is the execution of T. Manlius by his father. In handing over his son to the lictor, Livy 8. 7. 16 makes the consul say: *disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res, soluisti*. Merula, guided by the phrase *res stat Romana*, assigned the fragment of Ennius to the speech of the consul, but his edition is so rare³ that his interpretation was forgotten. I have arrived at it in a slightly different way and hope to prove correct what was perhaps no more than a very plausible guess.

¹ 162 lines, or a little more than a quarter of all the lines, whole or fragmentary, of the *Annals* belong to speeches—a very high proportion.

² See particularly the attestation of *ann.* 5.

³ In 1915 E. Norden, *Ennius u. Vergilius*, p. 62 n.2, complained that it was difficult to obtain a copy of Merula, and my impression is that Vahlen and L. Mueller relied

mainly on Spangenberg's edition. Spangenberg, though on the whole he follows Merula closely, yet asserts his independence: *ne tamen Merulam presse secutus sum*. Here, he does indeed refer to Livy 8.7 but has discarded Merula's attribution of the line to the speech of the consul and imagines that it was a *locus communis* opening book 5. Small wonder that later editors were not impressed.

Before telling the story of the fight between the younger Manlius and the enemy commander whom he slays, to be rewarded by execution, Livy reports a council of war, 8. 6. 14: *agitatum etiam in consilio est ut si quando unquam severo ullum imperio bellum administratum esset, tunc uti disciplina militaris ad priscos redigeretur mores*. This manifest invention can have only one purpose: to lessen the revulsion felt at the cruelty of one of the great men of ancient Rome. Livy himself tells us (8. 12. 1) that the youth of Rome turned away with loathing from the slayer of his own son, and when the consul says (8. 7. 17) *triste exemplum sed in posterum salubre iuventuti erimus*, he is in fact replying to criticism of which we have an echo in Claudian's striking line, *IV Cons. Hon.* 403:

triste rigor nimius? Torquati despuer mores.

With his *nemo reprehendit Cicero, Sull.* 32, merely scores a rhetorical point. It is easy to see how, torn between patriotism and humanity, Livy or his source tried to shift the ultimate responsibility for the outrage on to the broad shoulders of an anonymous council, and how, together with the responsibility, the words of the consul were transferred from the Ennian speech to the deliberations of the council: *moribus antiquis = ad priscos redigeretur mores*.

We shall note below an example, rather less certain, of the shifting of detail by Livy to a more appropriate place. In this instance doubt is impossible, and both the process and the motive seem to me of considerable interest. Less conscious is the working of Livy's mind as illustrated by a passage in the following book. In 9. 16. 19 Livy passes on Papirius Cursor the comment: *haud dubie illa aetate . . . nemo unus erat uir quo magis innixa res Romana staret*. W. B. Anderson¹ has pointed out that this sentence is indebted to the line of Ennius. The importance of the context, however, has been overlooked. Livy's comment arises directly from the story that Papirius ordered the summary execution of an offender by the lictor: *agedum, lictor, excide radicem hanc, inquit . . . perfusumque ultimi supplicii metu multa dicta dimisit*. The sentence passed, and commuted at the last moment, as undoubtedly he would have wished it to be commuted in the case of Manlius, must have brought back to Livy's mind the story which he had told in the previous book; and the line of Ennius on which he had drawn there came back with the story and shaped his comment: *res stat Romana uiris = uir quo . . . innixa res Romana staret*.

Thus we find all the elements of the Ennian line in Livy—*disiecti membra poetae*—and all connected with the execution of Manlius. Merula has received much praise but seems to deserve even more.

3. ANNALS 208-10 AND THE FORMULA OF DEVOTIO

Nonius p. 150. 6 M. has the following entry: *prognariter strenue fortiter et constanter: Plautus Persa* (588) '*ego scio hercle utrumque uelle: age indica prognariter*'; *Ennius annalium lib VI* 'diu(i) hoc audite parumper ut pro Romano populo prognariter armis certando prudens animam de corpore mitto.' J. Lipsius, *Epist. Quaest.* (1577), iv. 19 first saw that the fragment of the *Annals* was taken *ex precatione Decii . . . se deuouentis*. Presumably he was thinking of the battle of Sentinum; Merula certainly was, and he therefore altered the number of the book from 6 to 5,

¹ Livius, Book IX, Pitt Press, 3rd ed., 1928. I may add in confirmation that, though similar phrases occur at 4. 40. 9 *pro uirtute tua fideque, qua una hoc bello res publica stetit* and

6. 1. 4 *eodem innixa M. Furio principe stetit (urbs)*, the combination of *stare* with *res Romana* is to my knowledge found only in 8. 7. 16 and 9. 16. 19.

book 6 being entirely taken up with the war against Pyrrhus. An isolated historical version, however, is attested twice by Cicero,¹ according to which, following the examples of his grandfather in the battle of Vesperis and his father in the battle of Sentinum, the consul P. Decius Mus devoted his life in the battle of Ausculum. Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* iii. 592 (*Hist. of Rome*, iii. 505), assumed that Cicero took this story from Ennius. He would seem to have had this fragment in mind and thus to have given it the correct reference, which is widely believed to have been first given by Vahlen.

The question whether a *deutio* did or did not take place at Ausculum, or, as Dio Cassius 40. 43 and Zonaras 8. 5 have it, was intended but not carried out, is not to be discussed here. Two opinions, however, which can be encountered in the vast literature² provoked by this problem, must be briefly rejected. (1) It is sometimes argued that it is arbitrary to refer Ennius' words to Ausculum rather than to Sentinum. On the contrary, the book number given by Nonius assigns the fragment to the war against Pyrrhus, and this testimony would have to be accepted even if it were not confirmed by Cicero. (2) Some scholars suggest that Cicero, who elsewhere (*Sest.* 48; *off.* 1. 61; 3. 16; *sen.* 75; *parad.* 12) speaks only of two devotions of the *Decii*, may have blundered in our two passages. In view of the attestation by Nonius such a contention seems absurd.

There is, however, one condition under which a blunder on the part of Cicero, however improbable in itself, could be considered. If Ennius' words should not refer to a *deutio* but be merely a prayer of a man about to die, the iron bracket between Nonius-Ennius and Cicero would be broken.³ It would still be a most unlikely accident that we should have a prayer so suitable for a *deutio* in the story of the war against Pyrrhus when Cicero actually mentions a *deutio*; but it is fortunately unnecessary to argue from general probability. 'Rien n'impose de rapporter à Decius les trois vers des Annales', says Lévêque, p. 396. Neither he nor other sceptics, such as Niese, *Herm.* xxxi (1896), 492, or Münzer, *R.E.* iv. 2285, seem to have pondered the precise meaning of the Latin words, which, as I shall endeavour to show below, prove conclusively that the fragment is part of the prayer used in the *deutio*. I must leave it to historians to draw the historical consequences, just as I must leave it to epigraphists to decide whether in the *Fasti Capitolini* for 279 the death or self-sacrifice of the consul—who may or may not have survived⁴—was mentioned or not.⁵ In my own view, which I can express only with the greatest reserve, the available data can be reconciled by the assumption that the *deutio* took place but that the consul was not killed, whereupon the substitution ceremony described by Livy 8. 10. 12 was set into motion. Louise Holland, in her brilliant paper on the Warrior Image of Capistrano,⁶ which recognizes in that seven-foot-high figure an example of the substitute demanded if the gods refuse to accept the life offered, has rightly found it remarkable that the substitution ceremony should be discussed in the story of the *deutio* at Vesperis, where the question of a

¹ *Tusc.* 1. 89 *non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, cum Etruscis filius, cum Pyrrho nepos se hostium telis obieciissent*; *fin.* 2. 61 *neque porro ex eo (Decio filio) natus cum Pyrrho bellum gerens consul cecidisset in proelio seque e continenti genere tertiam victimam rei publicae praeboisset*.

² See G. Stievano, *Epigraphica* (1951), pp. 33 ff., and P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* (1957), pp. 395 ff.

³ The bracket seems to me strong enough to rule out the suggestion that *I*, omitted after *DIV*, was wrongly inserted after *LIVV*.

⁴ Broughton, *M.R.R.* i. 202, n.2.

⁵ A. Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* xiii. 1 (1947), pp. 40 ff., 113 ff., argues that it was not; P. Fraccaro, *Athenaeum*, n.s. xxv (1947), 240 ff., thinks it was.

⁶ *A.J.A.* lx (1956), 243 ff.

substitute did not arise. I cannot accept her view that Livy is here preparing for a striking event to come, since it is obvious from the *Periocha* of Book 13 that he did not record the *deutio* at Ausculum.¹ But it seems to me not improbable that in an annalistic source that ceremony was described where it belonged, i.e. in the context of an unsuccessful *deutio* at Ausculum, and that Livy, suppressing the story, saved the interesting archaeological material by attaching it to the story of Vesperis. Thus the somewhat embarrassing historical fact of the unsuccessful *deutio* would have been partly suppressed (Livy and transmission in general),² partly transformed into a *deutio* intended but not carried out (Dio, Zonaras), and partly (Ennius, Cicero) elevated to a third Decius' glorious end, which no doubt helped to improve the result of the battle as seen by patriotic Roman eyes.

Before we turn to a close examination of the Ennian fragment, it may be useful to consider briefly the formula of *devotio* as recorded by Livy 8. 9. 6 ff.;³

Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater,
 Quirine, Bellona, Lares,
 Diui Nouensiles, Di Indigetes,
 Diui, quibus est potestas nostrorum hostiumque,
 Diique Manes,
 uos precor ueneror ueniamque peto oroque
 uti
 populo Romano Quiritium
 uim uictoriam prosperetis
 hostesque populi Romani Quiritium
 terrore formidine morteque adficiatis
 sicut uerbis nuncupauit
 ita
 pro re publica populi Romani Quiritium
 legiones auxiliaque hostium
 mecum
 Deis Manibus Tellurique deuoueo.⁴

This formula is a mixture of new and old. Old in the main is the linguistic structure, with frequent dicola⁵ and tricola. The rhetorical clausulae *uictoriam prosperetis* and *tellurique deuoueo* may well be accidental and need not point to a late revision. But some minor inaccuracies were observed by Wissowa,⁶ and

¹ This point is rightly stressed by Stievano, *l.c.*, p. 11.

² On the elimination of unpleasant memories see *J.R.S.* xliii (1953), 78.

³ Pliny, *NH.* 28. 12, seems to have in mind an official record when he says: *durat immenso exemplo Deciorum patris filii quo se deuouere carmen. extat Tucciae uestalibus incesti deprecatio, eqs.* Presumably it is the record on which Livy drew.

⁴ A very different structural analysis is given by C. Thulin. *Ital. sacr. Poesie u. Prosa* (Berlin, 1906), p. 54.

⁵ Of considerable interest is the dicolon *uim uictoriam*. The alliterative phrase *ui uincere* is well known; see, e.g., Lucil. 613

uictus ui and the parallels cited there by Marx. But it does not seem to have been observed that the instrumental ablative *ui* undergoes a strange transformation when, instead of the verb *uincere*, a nominal derivative is used. Horace, *ep.* 1. 10. 37, transforms *ui* into an adjective: *uictor uiolens*. No commentary known to me explains that the somewhat surprising expression is the nominal reflection of the set phrase *ui uincere*. Our formula, on the other hand, coordinates *ui* with the noun. I suspect this of being an archaizing artificiality rather than genuine archaic diction, but I can offer no proof.

⁶ *De dis Rom. Indig. et Nouens.*, Ind. Lect. Marp., 1892, p. vii. 2: the *Nouensiles* and

Norden¹ rightly remarks that *ut uerbis nuncupauit*, which in any case is not part of the formula but an intercalary remark ('on the conditions stated') allowing for modifications as circumstances may demand, cannot be old. The intercalary remark, however, shows that *uti* and *ita* are in close correspondence (closer than it is in the similar formula of *euocatio*, Macrob. 3. 9. 7 f., which nevertheless provides a parallel for the development here to be suggested: see V. Basanoff, *Evocatio*, Paris, 1945, p. 33). In this way the sentence is cast as a stipulation, a bargain with the gods. The close association of the *pontifices* with the law has laid this legal veneer over an even more primitive aspect of religion, that of magic incantation. L. Deubner² has shown beyond question that the *deuotio* was a rite of sympathetic magic: the person going voluntarily to the underworld draws with him the host of the enemy. Of the magic there remains in Livy's formula nothing but *mecum*. An earlier formula is likely to have used the *ut—ita* correspondence not as a stipulation but, in the manner of the earliest formulae known to us,³ as the expression of the magically compelling parallel.

One further statement can be made about the earlier formula: it contained the dicolon *sciens prudens*.⁴ This idiom loses its original significance in the imperial period: in republican times it is used without exception to describe the action of a man meeting his end voluntarily and with his eyes open: *trag. inc. ap. Cic. fam. 6. 6. (= 145 R.) ut in fabulis Amphiarus, sic ego 'prudens et sciens / ad pestem ante oculos positam' sum profectus*; Ter. Eun. 72 *prudens sciens / uiuos uidensque pereō*; Cael. Cic. fam. 8. 16. 5 (= Att. 10. 9. 5) *ne te sciens prudensque eo demittas* (note the verb, and see below, p. 11, n. 2) *unde exitum uidēs nullum esse*; Cic. Marcell. 14 *prudens et sciens tamquam ad interitum ruerem uoluntarium*. It is very difficult not to believe that this remarkable uniformity of reference results from the use of these words in a solemn formula of self-immolation. The evidence as to the order in which the words occurred in the formula is somewhat confused but can be made to yield a fairly certain result.⁵ In the tragic fragment and in Terence the order may be dictated by metrical considerations, and Cicero Marcell. 14 is probably influenced by the tragic fragment: the speech and the letter were written at approximately the same time in 46 B. C., and in both the reference is to Cicero's departure to Pompey's camp.⁶ I should therefore judge that Caelius with *sciens prudens (que)* has the correct sequence. Thus the language

Indigetes have changed places, and *Tellus* seems to have been omitted before *Dique Manes*.

¹ *Aus eltröm. Priesterbüchern* (Lund, 1939), p. 48 n.; *ibid.*, p. 91, about the prayer as a whole: 'es ist kein sehr altes Produkt, aber sein Verfasser verstand sich wie auf das Ritual so auf die Formelsprache'.

² *A.R.W.* viii (1905), Beiheft, pp. 66–81.
³ e.g. Livy 1. 24. 8; 9. 5. 3; 21. 45. 8; Paul. Fest. 115. 4 M.: *tum me Diespiter . . . bonis eiciat, uti ego hunc lapidem*.

⁴ On dicola in ritual language: Fraenkel, *Plant. im Plaut.*, p. 145, n. 2; *Ikt. u. Akz.*, p. 128; Norden, l.c., pp. 18 ff.

⁵ The post-republican examples (S. Preuss, *de bim. dissol. . . usu*, Progr. Edenkoben, 1881, p. 105) are: Sen. dial. 6. 17. 6 *qui non incideret in illa (Syracusarum mala pestifera) sed prudens sciensque uenisset*; Suet. Nero 2 *medi-*

cumque manusierit quod sibi prudens ac sciens minus noxium temperasset (uenenum); Apul. apol. 52 *ille . . . ignorans peccat: at tu, miser, prudens et sciens delinquis*; Salv. gub. 6. 32 p. et sc.; Lact. inst. 2. 3. 3. p. et sc.; 6. 12. 13 p. ac sc. In legal language regularly *sciens prudensque*: Paul. sent. i. 5. 1; iv. 7. 3; Ulp. dig. 303. 23; 477. 3 (accus.); 560. 34; 721. 39; 743. 17; Gai. 770. 37; so also Querol. p. 11. 15 *Ranst. sciens prudensque sacramentorum nunquam rupisti fidem?*; Div. Fr. Ulp. 482. 18 *scientes et prudentes*.

⁶ Marcell. 14 and fam. 6. 6. 6 should therefore perhaps be counted as only one occurrence of the phrase. They must, on the other hand, although Caelius in fam. 8. 16. 5 warns Cicero of this same step, count as evidence independent of that passage, because in fam. 6. 6. 6 Cicero culls the phrase from Tragedy.

of the law, in which *sciens* precedes *prudens*, would be closer to the formula, whilst literary usage in the imperial period would conform to the metrical adaptation as transmitted by Cicero. A certain *a priori* probability may be claimed for this view, and the order employed by Ennius would seem to confirm it.

When we now turn to the words of Ennius, which for the reader's convenience I quote:

diui, hoc audite parumper
ut pro Romano populo prognariter armis
certando prudens animam de corpore mitto,

we are at once enabled to solve two difficulties, one of which has troubled editors and commentators, whilst the other ought to have done so. What is the meaning of *prognariter*? In defining it as '*strenue fortiter et constanter*' Nonius or his source is evidently guessing wildly, and Acidalius ought not to have been misled into conjecturing *praegnaviter*, adopted by Mueller and Valmaggi, a reading ruled out by the alphabetical order followed in Nonius' source.¹ In the accompanying passage from Plautus, which Nonius quotes again, p. 154 fin., this time giving it the meaning *audaciter*, it means *aperte*, and so *prognare* is correctly translated in Paul. Fest. p. 95. 11 M. Perhaps Plautus and the unknown source of *prognare* used *gnarus* in its passive sense, attested otherwise not before Tacitus², compounding it with *pro-* on the analogy of *propalam*. In Ennius we have the active sense of *gnarus*, compounded with the *pro-* of verbs such as *providere* and *profari*, whose meaning has developed from 'looking forth' and 'speaking forth' to 'foreseeing' and 'foretelling'. It is hardly an accident that *prudens* (*providens*) follows almost immediately. There is, on the other hand, no semantic justification for *prognariter* as an adverb which could qualify *certando*, either 'steadfastly' (Warmington) or 'courageusement' (J. Heurgon)³ or 'expertly'. Vahlen saw that the meaning 'with foreknowledge' is inevitable, and he assumed that *prognariter* qualifies *prudens*, comparing expressions such as *impie ingratus*, *inimice infestus*, *inepte stultus*. He may be right; or, alternatively and, as I think, more probably, the adverb and the participle are coordinated, both qualifying the main verb.⁴ In either case it is clear that *prognariter prudens* echoes *sciens prudens*, the dicolon which we postulated for the earlier formula of the *deuotio*. It must be borne in mind that *sciens*, though it would have caused no trouble to Lucilius or Lucretius, was excluded from Ennius' hexameters. The pioneer of a deliberate prosody in Rome had made the rule that initial *s* + consonant lengthened a final open syllable not only in the rise of the line but also in the fall.⁵ Thus *sciens* had to be replaced and was here replaced by *prognariter*.

¹ W. M. Lindsay, *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary* (1901), p. 93.

² Dr. O. Szemerényi, however, points out to me that *narrare* is more easily derived from *gnarus* in the passive than in the active sense. Passive *ignarus* is attested since Sallust.

³ Ennius I, *Les Annales* (Cours de Sorbonne, Paris, 1958), p. 71.

⁴ An exact parallel is found in Plaut. *Asin.* 562, where, instead of *sciens lubens*, we have *sciens libenter*.

⁵ C.Q. xlii (1948), p. 95. After Ennius, of course, we must distinguish between rise and

fall. For the rise the pioneer's ruling was hesitatingly accepted, in the fall it was disregarded, and such syllables were either short or a decision was avoided. But Martial is supposed to have written, 5. 69. 3, *quid gladium demens Romana stringis in ora*, and this prosodic solecism is defended by reference to 2. 66. 8, *digna speculo*, where the phenomenon is in the rise and can be paralleled from Catullus (4 exx.), Tib., Gratt., Lucan, Silius, Statius, and Juvenal. The line is obviously corrupt, since *Romana ora* cannot mean 'the mouth of Rome', which is the sense here required.

(2) What is the meaning of *ut*? And is this speaker out of his wits that he requests the gods, not to watch or attend, but to 'listen to this, while' he fights and dies? The traditional interpretation flies into the face of syntax no less than of sense. A temporal *ut* is occasionally used with an historical present¹, hardly, if ever, with a present proper², and never with a present when it means, or approaches in meaning to, 'while'.³ After what was said above about *ut* and *ita*, we need have no hesitation in presenting the fragment thus:

diui hoc audite parumper:
ut pro Romano populo prognariter, armis
certando, prudens animam de corpore mitto,
(sic hostes populi Romani, exercitus omnis
cum duce, deuoti Terrae, Dis Manibus sunto).⁴

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¹ Plaut. *Merc.* 100; Ovid *met.* 11. 471.

² ?Plaut. *Men.* 522 *satin ut quemque conspicor ita me ludificant.*

³ In Hor. *sat.* 1. 5. 15 *absentem ut cantat amicam* it is omitted in part of the transmission and probably (so Klingner and others) to be deleted; Heinze retains it but gives it a different interpretation.

⁴ Even the phrase *animam de corpore mitto* seems to point to a *deuotio*. Somewhat solemn and circumstantial for, e.g., *animam omitto* (Plaut. *Amph.* 240), *dimitto* (Lucr. 3. 356), *fundo* (ibid. 1033), it owes its origin, apart from the association by contrast of

corpus with *anima* and the need for a dactyl, to the suggestion of the *de-uo*tio. Compare particularly *demitto* in the *sciens prudens* context Cael. Cic. *fam.* 8. 16. 5 (above, p. 9), and Varro, *L.L.* 5. 148 *ciuem fortissimum eo demitti* (the demand of the god, in response to which Curtius hurled himself into the gap in the Forum), further *demitto* with datives such as *neci, Orco, morti*: Virg. *Aen.* 2. 85; 398; 5. 691; 9. 527; Hor. *c.* 1. 28. 11; Val. Flacc.; Stat.; Sil.; *al* I do not mean to say that *de* is used in any sense other than separative here. But I do think that the phrase *de corpore* came to the poet's mind because it dwelt on *de-*

SOME PALAEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

I. EURIPIDES' *PHAETHON*

THE writer recently examined the two palimpsest folios of the manuscript Parisinus gr. 107B, otherwise known as the Codex Claromontanus, which contain most of the surviving passages of Euripides' *Phaethon*. Despite the damaging effects of the chemical reagents used in the nineteenth century the text is not wholly illegible and a collation was made where possible. A comparison of this with the standard texts published by Nauck,¹ von Arnim,² and Volmer³ revealed some puzzling discrepancies; it looks as if recent editors have not examined the manuscript, basing their work on their predecessors' false reports of the collation by Blass.⁴ Nauck writes (p. 599): 'quoniam vero programmata academica in paucorum manus perveniunt, haud gravabor quae Blass legit hoc loco repetere'. von Arnim shows in his preface (p. 2) that he copied from Nauck, and Volmer says (p. 9): 'J. de Arnim omnia tragoediae Euripidae fragmenta contulit in Supplemento Euripideo, quem librum prae aliis commentationibus in fabula restituenda adhibeo'. In future scholars who turn their attention to the *Phaethon* would do well to go back to the collation by Blass, but this too seemed faulty to me at certain points. The situation may be summarized as follows.

(a) Blass is correct, the others largely incorrect, in reporting lines 42, 81, 102.

(b) Blass's readings are doubtful at

30	(the MS. seems to have	εφομαι φιλειν)
71	(" " "	δε δεδρων as Hase thought)
267	(" " "	χρυσεων as conjectured by Bekker and Wilamowitz)
349	(" " "	ειεν θυρ)
351	(" " "	οραν εν)

Volmer is cautious in his deductions, which are not affected by these corrections.

(c) At 325 ff. Blass's method of indenting the lines seems questionable, as they appear to read as follows:

325(.)αια	335(.)δα
	οσυμεν	(.)οι
	ευκελαδ		ωστριντρο
	ωκουρα	μ
	κυδεπαι		..(.)ωφη
330	δ.	340	οσπριε
	ουκειθ.		ς.
	υμενα	κ
	γ...ολ		..(.)ο..λκ
	...πω		καλειτε

¹ *T.G.F.*, ed. 2, pp. 599 ff.

² *Supplementum Euripideum*, pp. 68 ff.

³ *Diss. Monasterii Guestalorum*, 1930;

I use his numbering of the lines.

⁴ *Prog. Kiliae*, 1885. This is superior to earlier collations, which in any case did not include the fragmentary columns.

345	οφεμαγ	355	τροφ.	αταμ. .
	κακαδε		μερ.	. . παα.
χ ^ο	οδεκδο			ταγαρδε
	παιδος			τισαιαιδ
μερ.	ειενθυρ			ειδει
350	ωρεισο	360		ιναντη
	ορανεν			συμ. .
	θεααδε			χρεις .
τροφ.	ωμοι. .			οσσεθ
μερ.	στενα .			

Only at 330 and 341 did I fail to observe traces of letters at the edge of the column, and this may be due to the reagents.

(d) By contrast, at lines 206, 210, and 230, where deductions have been made about the course of the play, the manuscript has been accurately reported.

II. A PARIS MANUSCRIPT OF DEMOSTHENES

Recently the writer examined a Demosthenes manuscript in Paris (gr. 2935) and discovered that part of it was certainly written by the same calligraphic hand of the tenth century as the Vatican Plato (Vat. gr. 1), and another few pages very possibly in the hand of the Laurentian manuscript of Sophocles. In view of the importance of these manuscripts it seems worth while describing the Parisinus in detail and discussing the problems that arise.

Parisinus 2935, formerly Trichet Dufresne Regius 2189, contains besides various prolegomena twenty-nine speeches in the order 1-21, 23, 22, 24-26, 59, 61, 60 and the prooemia. It is written by three hands. The first fills the first eight folios and looks very like the hand that wrote the text of Sophocles and Apollonius Rhodius in Laurentianus 32.9. The second is that of a Renaissance scribe who wrote folios 9-26 to repair the book and who will not be mentioned again in this article. The third is certainly the calligrapher of the Vatican Plato. His name is not known to us; T. W. Allen (*C.Q.* xxii [1928], 75) identified him with Baanes, who wrote Harley 5694 for Arethas, but the hand is in fact not quite the same, and one should hesitate to make the identification even though a scribe's hand probably did change over a period of years—certainly this is true of such Renaissance scribes as Antonius Eparcha. Lenz (*G.G.N.* pp. 1933 ff.) thought the scribe was John the calligrapher, but the photograph that he published disposes of this idea completely. It is not, however, only the text that raises problems of identification; for the scholia, which are numerous, are in an uncial hand, and one has to consider whether this is yet another manuscript from the library of Arethas. The scholia of the Plato codex have been the subject of much argument, and until there is a study of Arethas' hand based on all the relevant material, which I hope to produce at some future date, the question has to be left open. On the other hand, in the Paris manuscript the scholia look a little different and may well be the work of another person. They incline to the right instead of being upright; but this inclination does not prevent their being the work of Arethas, as it is found in the undoubtedly Arethan scholia of Urbinas gr. 35; for instance, on folio 13 Arethas switches from

an upright to an inclined form of hand in the middle of a scholium. A comparison of photostats in my possession showed that the scholia of the Paris manuscript might be by Arethas, but that one or two details tell against this view. In the first place, the scholia of the Paris manuscript are more widely spaced, both horizontally and vertically, than is normal for Arethas; secondly, the Paris manuscript, unlike the Vatican Plato, uses the tachygraphic abbreviation for $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, which Allen (*Notes on Abbreviation in Greek Manuscripts*) did not find in any undoubted Arethas manuscript; finally, the Paris manuscript does not have any of the marginal and reference signs that are thought to be characteristic of Arethas (E. Maass in *Mélanges Graux*, p. 756). For these reasons I am slightly inclined to reject the attribution to Arethas and to point to the similarity of the scholia in Laurentianus 32.9, which are spaced much as in the Paris Demosthenes and show the tachygraphic abbreviation already referred to. This tends to support the tentative connexion proposed above.

I add a detailed description of the Paris manuscript. It has 301 folios of 310 \times 223 mm.; in folios 1-8 the scribe wrote a single column of 46 lines occupying an area 240 \times 156 mm.; his script rests on the line and he ruled his pages one at a time in the pattern Lake I, 1c. The scribe of folios 27-301 wrote a single column of 34 lines occupying a space 195 \times 133 mm.; he ruled his pages one at a time in a pattern very like that of Lake I, 14a. He did not rule lines for the scholia, and in this he follows the habit of the scriptorium first identified by T. W. Allen, which specialized in the production of commentaries on philosophical texts. Pricking points are visible, but it is impossible to say what method was employed to make them. The parchment is of good quality, varying in colour from white to yellowish. The quires are of eight leaves, marked in the top right-hand corner of the first recto (e.g. fol. 169); other markings on the last verso are not original. The quotation and reference signs used by the scribes are in no way distinctive. The same is true of the inks, which are various browns. The third scribe wrote the iota adscript. His writing rests on the line at the top of the page but gradually reverts to the hanging position. The accentuation is incomplete in places, and the first scribe wrote *nomina sacra* without the accents. In short there is little or nothing that is abnormal in the production of this manuscript. The binding is a beautiful piece of Renaissance work in leather over wood.

It is worth comparing the Vatican Plato in these minute details to see how much difference there could be in two manuscripts prepared by the same scribe; my data come partly from personal inspection and partly from the catalogue entry of P. F. de' Cavalieri in *Codices Vaticani Graeci* 1-329. Its folios are 367 \times 253 mm., with a written area of 260 \times 153 and a column of 40-42 lines to the page. The ruling pattern is Lake I, 3a, and the sheets were not prepared in the so-called normal way, each one being ruled separately, but two or at times three were ruled together; some faint lines were ruled a second time. The pricking is a set of small slits cutting through the whole quire at once. The accentuation, as far as I observed it, is complete. On the other hand, in the inks, the marking of the quires, and the relation of the script to the ruled line there is no difference between the Paris and the Vatican manuscript; but the fact remains that they give little support to the theory, implicit in a recent article by M. Irigoin in *Scriptorium*, xii (1958), 209 ff., that consistency in such details can be expected in manuscripts from the same scriptorium.

Regarding the possible identity of the writer of folios 1-8 with one of the

scribes of the Laurentianus it is hard to state anything definite; but I should be inclined to think the two books products of the same scriptorium or perhaps even of the same scribe, but separated by a number of years. It is interesting to note that by similar arguments other manuscripts have been attributed to the same place of origin; they are the Ravennas of Aristophanes, Laur. 59.9 of Demosthenes and Leiden B.P.G. 60A of Sophocles. Unfortunately in the present case neither hand has features of a truly distinctive kind. It would be wrong to point to certain supposedly common features of handwriting as proofs of the identity, as these features would almost certainly turn out to be widespread in other manuscripts of the same date. The size of the page in the Parisinus corresponds to that in the Laurentianus, but the number of lines to the column does not; and it is hard to know in any case how much weight to assign to such facts.

III. THE CODEX CRIPPSIANUS OF THE ATTIC ORATORS

The British Museum manuscript Burney 95, otherwise known as the codex Crippsianus and the most important source for the text of several Attic orators, has been dated in several different ways. The editors of the New Palaeographical Society's facsimiles¹ and Wyse² thought the second half of the thirteenth century the most likely date; van Groningen attributed it to the first half,³ and Maidment⁴ said simply '13th cent.'

Editors have no doubt been puzzled by the strange appearance of the hand; nothing quite like it is known from other dated manuscripts. But the problem is answered by referring to two chrysobulls from the chancery of Andronikos II Palaeologos (1282-1328), now preserved on Mount Athos: they are Ivron no. 3, issued by the emperor in 1312, and Chilandar no. 6, issued by the co-emperor Andronikos, later Andronikos III (1328-42), in 1317. The similarity between these and the manuscript of the orators is striking, though not enough to allow an identification of the hands. It looks as if a chancery scribe was commissioned by a wealthy man to write a manuscript in his spare time.

The chancery of the period is well known from the style in which its documents were written; several different scribes have been identified,⁵ and Professor Dölger has explained the character of the hand well.⁶ In general the letter forms correspond to those of the contemporary book hand; but the chancery of Andronikos II and his successor Andronikos III, also to some extent under John Palaeologos, makes an effort to produce a fine hand by great clarity and letters standing almost vertical, combined with an avoidance of ligatures and abbreviations standing above the line. The Codex Crippsianus is similar to the chrysobulls both in its general appearance and in certain distinctive ways of forming letters or groups of letters. As examples one may quote the forms of beta, tau, and omega (this last often very large, whether open or closed), and the letter groups $\epsilon\xi$, $\tau\omicron\iota$, $\tau\omicron\nu$.⁷

IV. COLLATION AND CONTAMINATION BY BYZANTINE EDITORS

The possibility of constructing a satisfactory stemma for a Greek text depends

¹ N.P.S., pl. 79.

² Edition of Isaeus, p. xii.

³ *Short Manual of Greek Palaeography*, p. 40.

⁴ *Minor Attic Orators*, vol. 1, xi.

⁵ Dölger in *Archiv f. Urkundenforschung*, xv. (1948), 400.

⁶ Dölger, *Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden*, no. 25, with his comment.

⁷ Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*, pl. 5 and 7, gives a facsimile of both the documents in question.

partly on the extent to which the Byzantine editors were interested in collating various manuscripts and thereby contaminating the tradition. That this process occurred frequently in the period of the Byzantine and Italian Renaissance from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards is known both from the confused state of the later tradition in many authors and occasionally from explicit testimony about the work of medieval scholars in comparing manuscripts. For instance Planudes¹ asked Manuel Bryennius to lend him a copy of Diophantus for collation with his own, and in the margin of Parisinus gr. 1671 he wrote a comment on the difficulty of a certain passage where there was a lacuna in more than one old manuscript.² Similarly in a sixteenth-century manuscript in Munich there is a marginal comment attesting the existence of a particular reading in another exemplar.³ No doubt a number of other cases could be adduced from the same period.

So much is well known; but in view of the remark of Pasquali⁴ that the tradition of some Greek authors had already been contaminated by the time of the earliest extant manuscripts it is worth setting out some evidence that accords with his view but has for the most part remained unnoticed. From this it will appear that collation took place earlier than has been supposed and that such editorial activity, at any rate where patristic texts were concerned, was not confined to the capital, but traceable also in the provinces of the empire at a time when the emperor was no longer able to claim sovereignty over them. This latter conclusion is particularly interesting, because it makes a surprising contrast to the widely held conception of the centralized and metropolitan character of Byzantine life. The evidence is as follows:

- (a) In a group of New Testament manuscripts, of which the earliest member belongs to the ninth century,⁵ there is a subscription at the end of the text of Matthew which suggests that contamination was occurring: *ἐγγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων, τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει ἀποκειμένων.*
- (b) The Vatican Plato has a number of marginal notes from the tenth or eleventh century which show that it was collated by a scholar against several other copies, including one belonging to the patriarch.⁶
- (c) The manuscript Parisinus gr. 1598, which was written in A.D. 1072 in the monastery of St. Saba in Jerusalem, has the following subscription: *διὰ τὸ παλαιωθῆναι πολὺ τὸ πατερικὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα ἐλάλησαν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ μου οἱ ἅγιοι μου πατέρες περὶ αὐτοῦ. καταβαλλόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτου ἑξοδὸν ὁ τιμωτάτος δεσπότης ἡμῶν κύριος Ἰωαννίκιος ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας, ἀνελαβόμεν τὸν τοιοῦτον κόπον, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μοναστηρίων τὰ πατερικὰ ἐπισωρεύσας καὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν μου ἐρευνᾶν ποιησάμενος καὶ συντάξας αὐτὰ δύο βιβλούς ἐποίησα.*
- (d) I add an example from another distant part of the Byzantine empire, the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai. The scribe in this case writes Georgian, not Greek, and belongs to the fourteenth century, but that does not affect my general argument, as there was a large Greek element at this monastery. The colophon of the manuscript says: *sancti*

¹ Ep. 33, ed. Treu.

² S.B. Berlin, 1909, 1030-46.

³ MS. gr. 38; mentioned by Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, ed. 2, ii. 427.

⁴ *Storia della tradizione*, ed. 2, p. 141.

⁵ Scrivener-Miller, *An Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.*, p. 55.

⁶ L. A. Post, *The Vatican Plato and its Relations*, p. 10.

patres et fratres, valde me dolet et patior, quod vice versa neque in initio scriptae sunt hae lectiones. et causa est haec: ex quattuor aut quinque exemplaribus scribebam, petitis ex alio atque alio monasterio, at tempore suo non inveni exemplar.¹

These cases seem to be clear; but I should like to conclude with one that is more doubtful, recently brought to light by M. A. Dain.² Here it looks as if collation in the proper sense of the word did not take place, or at any rate was not performed with the aim of making a new edition. The argument centres round two episodes in the life of John Grammaticus, patriarch of Constantinople from 837 to 843. The first passage comes from the life of Leo the Armenian³ and narrates that in 815 the emperor authorized John to make a search through the old volumes belonging to churches and monasteries. The words used are: τὰ ἀπανταχοῦ παλαιὰ βιβλία. The account continues: καὶ δὴ συναγαγόντες πλήθη πολλὰ βιβλίων ἐποιούντο ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐρευναν, πλὴν οὐδὲν εὗρισκον οἱ ἀφρόνες ὥνπερ αὐτοὶ κακοῦργως ἐπέζήτουν, ἕως οὗ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔλαβον τὸ συνοδικὸν Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἰσαύρου τοῦ καὶ Καβαλλίνου, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰς ἀρχὰς λαβόντες ἤρξαντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις εὗρίσκειν τὰς χρήσεις, ὥστε αὐτοὶ ἀφρόνως καὶ ἀνοήτως προέφερον, σημάδια βάλλοντες εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐνθα εὗρισκον, βουλόμενοι πείσαι τὸν ἄφρονα λαόν, ὅτι ἐν παλαιοῖς βιβλίοις εὗρομεν τοῦ μὴ προσκυνεῖσθαι τὰς εἰκόνας. The second passage is part of a letter from a Melchite patriarch to Theophilus in 839. The same events are described in much the same terms.⁴ καὶ δὴ βασιλικῇ χειρὶ τὰς βίβλους πάσας τῶν μοναστηρίων περιαθροίσας καὶ ἀνερευνήσας τὰς τῶν εἰδώλων ἀπαγορεύσεις, ταύτας προσέγραψαν τῇ σεβασμῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

The sources imply, and I find it hard to doubt, that the motive for the searches was a desire to find justification for theological doctrine without any intention of producing a new edition of the authorities, very like Bessarion's eager consultation of the manuscripts of St. Basil's tract against Eunomius. Another point of interest here is the extent of the search made at the emperor's order, and this depends on the interpretation of the word ἀπανταχοῦ; if the emperor told John to look everywhere he may have meant 'in the capital', or 'in the capital and the neighbouring monastic centres', or again 'all over the empire'. I incline to think the first meaning the most likely and would not care to infer more on the strength of an imperfectly defined word. It should in fact be rather surprising if the large libraries generally supposed to have existed in the capital were unable to offer what was required.

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¹ G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires de Sinai*, p. 281.

² *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, viii. 38.

³ Migne, *P.G.* 108. 1025.

⁴ *Ibid.* 95. 372.

THE SIXTEENTH EPISTLE OF HORACE

WISHING to forestall an inquiry from Quinctius about the produce of his farm,¹ Horace says that he will describe its *forma et situs* (1-4). What follows is not an impersonal description, but an account directed at Quinctius who is thought of as passing judgement on the farm (cf. *laudes*, 8; *dicas*, 11; *iam si credis*, 15). This involvement of Quinctius in the description must be extended to the protasis of the opening sentence of the description: *continui montes si dissociantur opaca / valle . . . , temperiem laudes* where the sense is something like 'if you were to find yourself in a place where the mountains, which crowd close to one another, are parted . . . , you would praise its temperate climate. <Such, you must know, is the setting of my farm.>² A rise in the stylistic level is to be observed as Horace speaks of the sun's course:

opaca
valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet. (5 ff.)

where *curru fugiente* recalls *abeunte curru* in the sixth Roman ode (44), an interesting echo, for in the ode the phrase occurs in a description of the simple life lived by Italian countryfolk of earlier and better times.³

The description continues. The form is still conditional and Quinctius is still involved, for the sentence is a question addressed to him ('And what if there were fruitful bushes bearing cornel-cherries . . . ?'):

quid si rubicunda benigni
cornu vepres et pruna ferant, si quercus et ilex
multa fruge pecus, multa dominum iuvet umbra?
dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum. (8 ff.)

Cornel-cherries are poor food, a *victus infelix* which a castaway might eat,⁴ or a miser,⁵ a substitute for the olives mentioned at the beginning of the epistle.⁶ These, plums, and acorns are far removed from the expectations of Quinctius.⁷ Horace's farm will never bring him *opulentia*, but he is content: the brief reference to *multa umbra* (10) is eloquent. The comparison with Tarentum must be read in the light of c. 2. 6. 13 ff. Finally, there is his spring, cool, clear, and

¹ Courbaud's interpretation of *ne perconteris* as a prohibition is incorrect, *Horace, Sa vie . . . à l'époque des Épîtres* (Paris, 1914), p. 174. Heinze rightly compares *epi.* 1. 1. 13, where, however, the *ne*-clause is dependent on an unexpressed 'you must know that' as in c. 2. 4. 1; 4. 9. 1; 5. 2. 3. 31; *epi.* 1. 12. 25; 18. 58 ('you must not forget that'); 19. 26; 2. 1. 208 and perhaps c. 1. 33. 1.

² The principle of the *lectio difficilior* may fairly be invoked in reading *si* and not *ni* in 5; cf. O. Keller, *Epilogomena zu Horaz, Dritter Theil* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 662. Much, however, of his impassioned championing of *si* depends on rather forced arguments. For the

sense of *continui* see Keller, *op. cit.*, 661, where the attractive suggestion will be found that the position of *continui montes* is intended to emphasize the narrowness of the valley and suggests that the farm is not a rich one.

³ Cf. also Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 100 f. 'qua Sol utrumque recurrens / aspiciat Oceanum'; 217 f. 'regnis, quae maxima quondam / extremo veniens Sol aspicebat Olympo'.

⁴ Virgil, *Aen.* 3. 649.

⁵ Horace, *s.* 2. 2. 55 ff.; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8. 665.

⁶ Col. 12. 10. 3.

⁷ Note the lowly position assigned by Cato to the *glandaria silva* (*R.R.* 1. 7).

healthful (12 ff.). In this retreat, which is not only dear to him (*dulces*, 15), but also—and Horace hopes that his description has persuaded Quinctius of the truth of this—beautiful in itself (*et, iam si credis, amoenae*),¹ he is able to report that he is well (*incolumis*), and this at a time when in Rome fever is rampant (16).²

Lines 5–14 are characterized by an extraordinary unwillingness to make statements of fact about the farm. Only at 14 does Horace commit himself to using a verb in the indicative mood (*fluit*). As has been said, he involves Quinctius in his account and the *si*-clauses of 5–10 cannot be understood without reference to that involvement. But this does not explain why Horace expressed such facts as 'the mountains are parted' and 'the brambles bear cornel-cherries' in the form *montes si dissociantur* and *si corna vepres ferant*. This unwillingness to speak forthrightly about his *Sabinum* is perhaps best regarded as springing from that quality of *elpovēla* which, as will be seen, manifests itself in another aspect also of this account.

In another, earlier, description, not of the *Sabinum*, but of the farm for which he had prayed,

modus agri non ita magnus
hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
et paulum silvae super his foret (s. 2. 6. 1 ff.),

Horace had written simply, almost prosaically. In the epistle, however, there is a delicate interplay between a prosaic, precise, and cerebral manner of expression and a style where the loftiness of the language, its sweetness, or its imaginative power reminds the reader that Horace had already composed his three books of *carmina*.³ As has been observed, the description of the sun's course in 6 f. is marked by a certain elevation of language. Against this, however, must be set the syntactical structure of the passage: a limiting consecutive clause (*<ita> opaca . . . ut . . .*) is a careful, prosaic form of expression.⁴ *dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum* (11) is a striking and imaginative line, and the sudden appearance of distant Thrace (13) is reminiscent of many passages in the *Odes* where Horace transports the reader's thoughts to far-off places.⁵ But this mention of Thrace comes in a consecutive clause, of which there is only one example in the four books of odes (c. 1. 20. 5 ff.). The next line, *infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo*, is in the main prosaic, but gains in charm as well as forcefulness from the repetition of *utilis*.⁶ And in the last sentence of this introductory section the lyrical sweetness of *hae latebrae dulces et . . . amoenae* is disturbed by the almost argumentative *iam si credis* (15).⁷

¹ Cf. Courbaud, op. cit., p. 174, n. 2; Heinze, ad loc.; L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and his Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 57.

² Cf. *epi.* 1. 7. 5 ff.

³ Cf. E. Garn, *Odelemente im 1. Epistelbuch des Horaz* (Diss. Freiburg i. Br., 1954), pp. 66 f.

⁴ There is no example of this kind of clause in the *Odes*; cf., however, s. i. 2. 123 f.

⁵ It is worth noting that Horace's many other references to Thrace are, with the exception of the highly 'poetic' *epi.* 1. 3. 3, all to be found in the *Odes* and *Epodes*.

⁶ Cicero sharply distinguishes these two effects: 'geminatio verborum habet interdum vim, leporem alias', *de orat.* 3. 206; cf. *Macr.* 5. 14. 6 'amoenae repetitiones'. Many instances will be found in the *Eclogues* of Virgil, e.g. 2. 38 f.; 4. 58 f.; 5. 51 f.; 6. 20 f.; see also Horace, c. 1. 22, 23 f., where Heinze, ad loc., compares the style of the *Eclogues*. In general see Norden ad *Aen.* 6. 164; J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique latine* (Paris, 1946), pp. 270 ff.

⁷ Cf. Garn, op. cit., p. 67.

It cannot be denied that Horace has given a misleading impression of the resources of his farm.¹ It was natural for him, an εἶπεν, having set out to describe the *Sabinum*, to do it less than justice. But there is more than this involved here. The description was composed with reference to the rest of the epistle, which is an ethical discussion. It suggests that on his *Sabinum* he leads a modest, simple, and therefore good life and that in this place of stability and sanity he finds the standards by which he judges the vices and follies of the world.² Furthermore, in the contrast between what the farm is for Horace himself who lives on it in simplicity and how it seems to Quintius (cf. 1 ff. and in particular *opulentet*) there is present a foreshadowing of the theme of *esse* and *videri* which is to be so important in what follows.³

What light do these lines throw on Horace's attitude to Quintius? The warmth which seems to be present in *optime Quinti*—Horace is not liberal in his application of *optimus* to persons⁴—and the gentle self-depreciation of *loquaciter* give to the opening a pleasant and friendly air. The words *scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri* (4) must have led Quintius to expect a lengthy but straightforward and businesslike account, such as would be to the taste of one to whom Horace attributes an interest only in the produce of the farm (1 ff.).⁵ What follows is in fact neither lengthy nor businesslike. He gives a description only ten lines long in which, although it is directed at Quintius, he fails to deal explicitly with the inquiry which he is supposed to be anticipating. All that he does is implicitly to correct the suggestion that the farm is a valuable property (cf. *opulentet*, 2) by choosing to speak, and at no great length (8–10), only of produce which is of little material value. Instead of the down-to-earth description which Quintius must have expected Horace presents him with a strangely tentative and at the same time markedly 'poetic' account. It is as if Horace wished by writing a description of this kind to show that the value of the farm lay for him, not in its produce, which is all that Quintius is interested in, but in other, less material, advantages. It is clear that Horace does not sympathize with his friend's interests. Later (17 ff.) he is to be found showing concern about the moral state of Quintius and demonstrating the difference between true and false goodness. In view of this it is legitimate to recall the *optime* of the first line and to wonder how much irony was present in Horace's mind when he chose to apply the word to his friend. Quintius cannot be identified with certainty, but it is tempting to see in him T. Quintius Crispinus Sulpicianus, consul in 9 B.C., one of Julia's lovers, and a man of whom Velleius Paterculus wrote *singularem nequitiam supercilio truci protegens* (2. 101).⁶ A lesson on

¹ Cf. *epi.* 1. 14. 2. f.; 5. 2. 7. 118; c. 1. 17. 14 ff.

² *incolumem* (16) should be taken in a moral as well as a physical sense, cf. Garn. *op. cit.*, p. 67. The function of the opening of this epistle may be compared with that of the conclusion (104 ff.) of the eighteenth; cf. Garn. *op. cit.*, p. 70.

³ It will be seen that Scaliger's criticism, 'ubi rus descripsit, exilit temere ad discutienda praecepta sapientiae', *Poet.* 6. 7, p. 337 (folio edition of 1561), is not well founded (for a similar view see E. P. Morris, *Tale Cl. St.* ii [1931], 91). 'Quelle malheureuse

Critique!' was Dacier's comment on Scaliger's observation, commentary on *epi.* 1. 16 ad init., *Les œuvres d'Horace, traduites en François, avec des notes . . . par M. Dacier* (Paris, 1691). Heinze, ad 17, and H. Wieland, *ut curat sententia* (Diss. Freiburg i. Br., 1950), 43, have drawn attention to the importance of *me/tu* (16 f.) in linking the two parts of the epistle.

⁴ Cf. Heinze, ad loc.

⁵ My thanks are due to a learned reader for a suggestion on this point. On *forma agri* see Varr. *R.R.* 1. 6. 1 ff.

⁶ According to S. Obbarius, *Q. Horatii*

the difference between real and seeming virtue might well be read to such a man.

The rest of the epistle falls into two main parts, a passage directed at Quinctius and having regard for his special circumstances (17-40) and a general discussion of the question, *vir bonus est quis?* (40-79). The distinction between *esse* and *videri* is made at the outset: *si curas esse quod audis* (17). Everyone at Rome says that Quinctius is *beatus*. Horace is worried about this and expresses his concern in three clauses of increasing length, each dependent on *vereor*.¹ The first restates the contrast between what a man is and what he is thought to be. In the second Quinctius is reminded that *beatus* is a word with several possible meanings, but that it ought to be used to describe only the man who is *sapiens bonusque* (20). The *vir bonus*, the search for whom is to dominate the epistle, appears here for the first time. In the last of these clauses (21 ff.) Horace, using a medical image (cf. *incolumem*, 16), suggests that the moral state of Quinctius may not be as sound as is believed. He does not say that he fears Quinctius may be like a man who tries to conceal a fever; in this *ne*-clause he identifies him with such a man.² The idea of *dissimulatio*, which is to loom so largely in 40-62, is already present here. Later (57 ff. and probably 41 ff.) concealment is practised by the wicked man to help him in his wrongdoing; here, however, its source is *divaricia*: *stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat* (24).

Concern for Quinctius now gives place to rational argument. Quinctius can easily tell when praise is inapplicable to him and appropriate to Augustus alone—the texture of the epistle is diversified by what is probably an attempt by Horace to take off in his own words the fulsomeness of loyal panegyrists (27 ff.).³ But when he allows himself to be called *sapiens emendatusque*, has he any right to this description either? It was possible, though, it might be thought, unlikely, that in 20 *bonus* in spite of being associated with *sapiens* might be taken in some sense other than the ethical one. *emendatus*, however, should exclude any such misunderstanding.⁴ In fact it does not, for the reply which Horace puts into the mouth of Quinctius shows not only that he is unwilling to follow Horace in his careful choice of words, but also that in spite of all that Horace has said he is not convinced of the supreme importance of *esse* and is still prepared to enjoy the pleasures of *videri* and indeed virtually to question Horace's sincerity by saying that he enjoys them too:

‘nempe
vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu’ (31 f.).⁵

Horace does not trouble to deny this, but instead shows why it cannot be true. He knows that such descriptions are not lasting since they depend on the whim of those who apply them (33-35). They are like false accusations. *Fama*,

Flacci epistolae . . . edidit S. O., Fasc. Sextus (Lipsiae, 1845), p. 296, this identification was first proposed by Rodellius, *Petri Rodellii, e soc. Iesu, Horatius ad Sereniss. Delphinum* (Tolosae, 1683). See *P.J.R.* ii (Berlin, 1898), 121 f.

¹ Cf. E. Lindholm, *Stilist. Studien zur Erweiterung der Satzglieder im Lat.* (Lund, 1931).

² Cf. *epi.* 1. 1. 2; 2. 41 f.; 7. 73 f.; Garn, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 15.

³ Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), p. 430, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. Wieland, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁵ Courbaud's view, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n. 1, that *nempe* . . . is a momentary concession made by Horace (if it were an objection, it would, he thinks, be introduced by *at*) cannot be accepted. Horace is too much in earnest here to make even the least concession. *nempe* means 'but of course'; cf. *s.* 2. 3. 207.

whether *bona* or *mala*, has an effect only on the man who is *mendosus et medicandus* (36 ff.). From him Horace turns immediately to consider the good man as he asks *vir bonus est quis?* Although the general discussion is set in motion by these words, the reader is not aware that Horace is making a transition to the main theme of the epistle. The question follows naturally on the conclusion of the preceding discussion and is still more closely bound to it by the fact that it does not come at the beginning of a line.¹ Though the argument as far as *medicandum* (40) is directed at Quinctius, Horace has prepared the reader's mind for his friend's impending departure from the foreground by not using the second person in 32 ff. There he speaks of himself, not of Quinctius: *pono tristisque recedo* (35); *mordear . . . mutemque colores* (38).

The question, *vir bonus est quis?* is immediately answered:

'qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat,
quo multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites,
quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur' (41-43).

The five relative pronouns, the parallelism in and between 41 and 43, and the alliteration of *multae magnaeque* and the final *teste tenentur* give great weight and dignity to these lines, which have about them something of the lapidary impressiveness of the Scipionic *elogia*.² In two lines (44 f.) Horace deflates this picture of a law-abiding and authoritative man: those who live near him know that he is inwardly base and that only his exterior is fair. Immediately after this exposure of an important citizen Horace introduces his slave. Here too there is superficial goodness: *nec furtum feci nec fugi* (46). The lively exchange which follows, in which Horace with amusing obliqueness speaks of himself in the third person as 'the Samnite' (49),³ leads to the conclusion that, if the slave has refrained from committing certain crimes, he has done this through fear of being caught (he is like a beast of prey warily avoiding the baited trap, 50 f.) and not because he is, as he claims, *bonus et frugi* (49). The general truth to which this leads is the first positive statement about the *bonus* to which Horace commits himself:

oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore (52).

The rest, however (the second person refers to the world of sinners in general),⁴ merely fear punishment, and, if they could escape detection, would not stop short of sacrilege. By recalling with a specific example the Stoic paradox *ὅτι ἴσα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα* (55 f.), Horace anticipates the objection of one who, while admitting that he is not *bonus*, would declare that he could not be so wicked as to commit sacrilege.⁵

¹ Cf. Wieland, op. cit., pp. 18 ff.

² C.F.L. i². 7, 9-12, 15.

³ Cf. E. A. Sonnenschein, C.R. xi (1897), 340; xii (1898), 305; W. Schulze, Zur Gesch. latein. Eigennamen (= Abh. königl. Ges. zu Göttingen, Philol.-histor. Klasse, N.F. v. 5, Berlin, 1933), p. 595 (additional note to 480); Philipp, F.-W., Zweite Reihe ii, 1570 f.

⁴ Cf. s. 1. 1. 38 ff.; 2. 74 ff.; 3. 25 ff. et al.

⁵ Lejay, Œuvres d'Horace, Texte latin avec . . . des notes explicatives par E. Plessis et P. Lejay, 8th ed. (Paris, 1919), p. 512, is wrong in

denying the influence of the paradox. Because of this close connexion between 55 f. and 54 (*miscetis sacra profanis*) it seems inadvisable to follow Courbaud, op. cit., pp. 179 f., and Heinze, ad loc., who hold that 55 f. do not indicate complete acceptance of the paradox. In this most Stoic of poems there is nothing surprising in Horace's committing himself, *nunc . . . virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles*, to such an extreme view. He is not of course here concerned with punishment for wrongdoing; contrast s. 1. 3. 76 ff.

Horace has here (56) reached the end of a line of argument which took its origin in the incorrect answer of 41-43. In its course two important ideas have been developed: one is the by now familiar thought that an appearance of goodness is not the same as real goodness, the other is the new, positive declaration that not doing wrong, a characteristic of the good, but not confined to them, has, among the good, its source in a love of virtue.

57 begins with the words *vir bonus*. Will this be the answer to the question asked in 40? *omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal* raises doubts, reminding the reader of the law-abiding citizen of 41 ff. But this 'good' man is worse. While offering sacrifice, he calls loudly on Janus and Apollo, but in a whisper begs Laverna to cast a cloud of darkness about his misdeeds, to grant him the ability to deceive and to appear *iustus sanctusque*. In this new sketch of one who only appears to be good there is an element of sacrilege which links it with the preceding discussion.¹

Up to this point the theme of *esse* and *videri* has been dominant. But when a moralist has shown a man to be a hypocrite, he has not penetrated to the roots of his condition. Hypocrisy is a veil for one or more vices, and Horace now considers this fact. He chooses one vice to stand for all, and, since it is not unlikely that one who prays to Laverna suffers from *avaritia*, it is to the condition of the *avarus* that he now turns.² The argument belongs to the theme *ὅτι μόνος ὁ σφοδρὸς ἐλευθερὸς* (cf. s. 2. 7, *passim*), and the form of expression with which Horace opens the discussion (*qui melior servo, qui liberior sit avarus*, . . . *non video*, 63 ff.) is reminiscent of several lines in the Stoic sermon of Stertinius.³ The *avarus* suffers from desire and therefore fear. Being fearful, he cannot be free. He has lost his freedom in much the same way as many a slave in real life: he has been a coward in battle, a moral battle (67 f.). This thought is developed into a conceit. Having abandoned his post in the army of virtue, the *avarus* has been captured by someone,⁴ and it is this person whom Horace now addresses. He must not slay the captive, for he will make a useful slave. He will not spare himself if he is allowed to look after livestock or arable land, and, if he becomes a *mercator*, he will pass the winter at sea in quest of trade and help keep down the price of corn. The activities to which Horace refers here are not the activities of 'real' slaves, but of rich men who are indeed themselves masters of slaves. It is the avaricious landowner who is said to look after stock and to plough. The paradox is that he, the master of gangs of slaves, is as much a slave as are his workers. In the same way the *mercator* is no more free than the slaves who work for him.⁵ In these lines (63 ff.) Horace has taken a considerable step forward towards answering the question posed in 40, for, as he analyses in some detail the state of the *avarus*, introducing for the second and last time in the epistle the word *virtus* (67), he is indirectly making statements about the *vir bonus*. He knows no desire, is unafraid and free, a brave soldier in the army of virtue.

And it is the freedom and courage of the *vir bonus* which dominate the con-

¹ Cf. *misceris sacra profanis* (54).

² This interpretation seems preferable to that of Courbaud, who believes that in 63 ff. money is considered as an alternative *summum bonum* to the good opinion of others, op. cit., pp. 181 f. It is of course true, but irrelevant, that not all *avari* are hypocrites.

³ s. 2. 3. 241, 275; cf. also 108, 259 f.

⁴ Heinze identifies him as 'the World and its opinions'. It is more likely that he stands for the passions of the *avarus* himself; cf. s. 2. 7. 93 f. and 81.

⁵ Heinze, ad loc., did not see that the subject of *pascat* and *aret* is as much a legally free man as is the trader of 71.

cluding lines, where Horace at last and in surprising fashion answers the question, *vir bonus est quis?* Although only seven lines long, the passage has enough weight and solemnity to counterbalance the long, mainly negative, discussion in 41-72 and satisfy the reader who has waited so long for the revelation of the *vir bonus*.¹

Without any general characterization Horace plunges directly into a dramatic scene:

vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere: 'Pentheu,
rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
indignum coges?' 'adimam bona' . . . (73 ff.; cf. Eur.
Ba. 492 ff.).²

Instead of saying 'the good and wise man will be like Dionysus who had the courage to say . . . ' he identifies the good man with Dionysus,³ or, to put the matter in another way, he places the good man in the situation which Dionysus faced and says that he will behave in exactly the same way. He will show himself indifferent to the loss of his material possessions and, if his liberty is threatened, will seek freedom in death.

In consisting entirely of direct speech without any verbs of saying the dialogue recalls the exchange between Agamemnon and the *plebeius* in the third satire of the second book.⁴ Whatever may be the origins of that episode, the form of the scene in the epistle is to be referred to its dramatic source. This is not to say that Horace based his scene directly on Euripides. The exchange in the *Bacchae* between Pentheus and Dionysus made a considerable impression on philosophers,⁵ and it is very likely that Horace's version with its important departures from the text of Euripides and its interpretation of *Ba.* 498 as a reference to suicide is derived from a philosopher's adaptation of Euripides.⁶

One of the two passages where Epictetus makes use of the scene from Euripides (1. 1. 22) occurs in a context which contains references to several opponents of Nero, to Plautius Lateranus (1. 19), Thrasea Paetus (1. 26), and Paponius Agrippinus (1. 28). And it is not unnatural for a modern reader faced with the conclusion of the epistle to think of those who were to oppose the emperors and to see in suicide a road to freedom.⁷ But it would be wrong to find in the passage any attempt to honour those who would oppose Augustus. So also at the beginning of the third Roman ode the *vultus instantis tyranni* does not bear the features of Augustus. The *tyrannus* is there a generalized figure who is not fixed in time or place. Wise men have faced him bravely in the past and, if need be, would face him now or in the future. Horace, no stranger to political

¹ Cf. Wieland, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

² A very different method is employed in s. 2. 7. 83 ff.: 'quisnam igitur liber? sapiens sibi que imperiosus, / quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent, / respondere cupidinibus, contemnere honores / fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus, / externi ne quid valeat per leve morari, / in quem manca ruit semper fortuna.'

³ Cf. 21 ff., and see above, p. 208.

⁴ 187 ff.; cf. also *epi.* 1. 17. 13 ff. For this dramatic form in the epigram see W. Rasche, *De Anthologiae Graecae epigrammatis quae colloquii formam habent* (Diss. Münster,

1910); W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.* lxvi (1941), 60, n. 1. See also Call., fr. 114 Pf. and Pfeiffer's remarks in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xv (1952), 26 f.

⁵ Cf. Arrian, *Epict. Diss.* 1. 1. 22 ff., where the exchange, as in Horace, consists entirely of the words spoken by the two adversaries, and 29. 5 ff. In Plut. *de tranq. anim.* 18 (= *Mor.* 476 b and c) the same interpretation of *Ba.* 498 as that given by Horace (78 f.) is to be found.

⁶ For a more precise suggestion see H. J. Rose, *C.Q.* xx (1926), 204 ff.

⁷ Cf. Sen. *ep.* 70. 14; *de ira* 3. 15. 4.

change (cf. *c.* 1. 35), could doubtless conceive of conditions developing at Rome which would put the *sapiens* to the test, but such a possibility bore no relation to the Rome presided over by one of whom only eight lines after the reference to the *instans tyrannus* he says that he will take his place between Pollux and Hercules.¹ Neither can the tyrannical Pentheus be brought into connexion with Augustan Rome. Horace has suggested the clashes that were to come; the reader must beware of referring that conflict to Horace's own day.

Some eighty years later the Stoic Seneca compared man's life on earth with the months of gestation and saw in the day of his death the day on which he is born in eternity.² Of this view there is no trace in the epistle: *mors ultima linea rerum est* (79).³ It was not that Horace could not be more hopeful. In the second of the Roman odes he had written:

virtus recludens inmeritis mori
caelum negata temptat iter via
coetusque vulgaris et udam
spernit humum fugiente penna (21 ff.),

only to break off before revealing all.⁴ But in the epistle he thinks, not of a heaven beyond this earth to which the good man may eventually attain, but of a heaven on earth, which a man may find in the living of his own life. Here Virtue does not spurn the 'damp earth', for the reader must now see that she is completely at home on the *Sabinum* which Horace described at the beginning, that retreat where, free from distraction and temptation, he can devote himself to philosophic study and meditation and in the simplicity of his life there show that same indifference to material *bona* which on an heroic scale characterizes the *vir bonus* at the end of the epistle.

It has been observed that a recurring movement in Horace's poems is one from darkness to brightness, from discord to concord, from seriousness to light-heartedness.⁵ The epistle conforms to this type only in the sense that a progression from vice to virtue is a kind of resolution of discord into concord. But the harmony of the conclusion is a dark harmony. All the brightness of this poem is concentrated in the description of the *Sabinum*. This is not only an image of that *recte vivere* with which the rest of the poem is, even if in the main negatively, concerned; it has the function of acting also as a foil to what follows, to the dark picture of human hypocrisy and greed, the conflict between the good man and the tyrant, and the solemn appearance of death in the last line.

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¹ The remarks of V. Pöschl on this subject cannot be accepted, *L'Influence grecque sur la poésie latine de Catulle à Ovide* (Fondation Hardt, Entretiens II), (Vandœuvres-Genève, 1956), p. 111. See, however, also the modified restatement of his views, pp. 126 f., made in response to Klingner's criticism, p. 124.

² *ep.* 102. 23-24, 26; cf. A. Serafini, *Maia* vi (1953), 269 f.

³ On death in Horace see H. Oppermann, *Der altsp. Unterricht*, Heft 5 (Stuttgart, 1953), 69 ff.

⁴ Cf. G. Pasquali, *Orazio lirico* (Florence, 1920), pp. 667 ff.

⁵ Cf. F. Klingner, *'EPMHNEIA*, Festschrift O. Regenbogen (Heidelberg, 1952), p. 126; Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 285; Klingner, *J.R.S.* xlviii (1958), 175.

LABOUR AND STATUS IN THE *WORKS* AND *DAYS*¹

THE total surviving output of the Hesiodic school of Greek Epic is too little, in point of sheer quantity, to afford an insight into social life and outlook comparable with that offered by the Homeric poems. Worse still, it is too heterogeneous a collection to form a meaningful social document.

One part of the collection, however, does present a unified body of evidence. This is the *Works and Days*,² which can be assigned with confidence to a definite

¹ For a portrait of Homeric society, see M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus* (2nd ed. London, 1956). Chapter 3, 'Wealth and Labour', especially at pp. 56 ff., gives some indispensable background for the present discussion. See also passages listed in the index under 'demioergoi', 'household', 'nobility', 'retainer', 'slavery', and 'work'. For two points on which I am led to a different emphasis see p. 218, n. 1 and p. 219, n. 1 below. The best discussion of labour and outlook which covers Hesiod as well as Homer is, to my knowledge, that of A. Aymard in his article 'Hiérarchie du travail et autarcie individuelle dans la Grèce archaïque', *Rev. d'hist. de la philosophie et d'hist. gén. de la civilisation* xi (1943), especially pp. 130 ff.; restated in 'L'Idée du travail dans la Grèce archaïque' (*Journal de Psychologie*, xli (1948), 29-45. See p. 217, n. 1. The subject is also handled in *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, by W. L. Westermann (American Philosophical Society, 1955), pp. 2-4. It makes no substantial advance on H. Wallon's treatment in his *Histoire de l'esclavage* (vol. i, 2nd ed., Paris, 1879, chap. 2), except that Hesiodic society is distinguished from Homeric and that the evidence of Attic Tragedy, which Wallon uses (e.g. p. 89), is rightly ignored. But Westermann's treatment of Hesiod is perfunctory, and placed in the period of social transformation from the Archaic to the Classical era, whereas its domestic economy, at least, belongs squarely to the Archaic (see below). Moreover, his whole treatment of the latter contains strange misunderstandings: the suggestion of clientage or serfdom; of ἀμειρόλοιοι as free hired workers; of debt-bondage. Above all, the *ethos* of the relations between the various social categories (p. 3) is very imperfectly indicated. In this last point particularly Wallon (see pp. 77-90) is at once more informative and more thoughtfully suggestive.

² For the character and aims of the *Works and Days* see the introduction to the edition of

T. A. Sinclair, *Hesiod's Works and Days* (London, 1932). I take its date to be the late eighth or early-to-middle seventh century. For the remainder of the discussion Hesiod will be regarded as synonymous with the poet of the *Works and Days*. The *Catalogues* (which in any case contain almost nothing relevant) and, above all, the *Shield of Heracles* are, of course, heroic poetry, and are now generally agreed not to be by Hesiod. This throws them wide open to problems of date and conscious literary archaism, which render them ambiguous as social documents. The points of relevance from the *Shield* are the following: (1) Sc. 39-41: Amphitryon, on returning home, did not make his way 'to his servants and rustic shepherds' (δμῶδες καὶ ποιμένες ἀγροίαντας) until he had shared his wife's bed. Here, in sharp contrast to the *Works and Days*, we have the great royal *oikos*, with its patriarchal *ethos*. It is worth noting that 'servants and rustic shepherds' is probably a hendiadys, so that the effect of the phrase is to define for us the status of the herdsmen. To take δμῶδες here as from the feminine δμῶναι would make poor sense. (2) Sc. 276: the word δμῶων occurs as antecedent to the feminine plural relative pronoun ταὶ and is therefore feminine. It thus becomes the one instance in the surviving Hesiodic corpus of a word meaning female servant. It occurs in the courtly context of the marriage scene depicted on the shield and imitated from that on the shield of Achilles, *Iliad* 18; so that the δμῶναι here, like the δμῶδες of Sc. 39, clearly belong to a royal *oikos*. (3) Sc. 197: Athena is given the title ἀγελῆν 'driver of herds'. This is the only possible reference to capture in the poem. As to the *Theogony*, the unresolved problem of its Hesiodic authorship can fortunately be by-passed here, since it contains nothing relevant. None of the key words (δμῶες, δμῶος, θῆς, etc.) occurs in it; and though the gods live in perfunctory 'halls' (δαίματα), and one might even see in Pegasus a retainer or servant of Zeus (*Th.*

poet, place, and, less definitely, date. Indeed, of all that has come down to us from the pre-Classical age the *Works and Days* has a special claim to be viewed as a social document. For while it is surely legitimate to view Homer's heroic epic in the same way,¹ yet a poet whose whole purpose it is to teach his neighbours and contemporaries how to farm and how to live, thereby gives a guarantee that what he says of the setting in which they are to live and farm will be practical and realistic.

The *Works and Days* brings within our cognizance the class of the small but independent farmer of whom we learn practically nothing from Homer,² but who must have existed alongside the *aristoi* or nobles, and in considerable numbers, if we are to make sense of the political organization described in the second books of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is true that Hesiod's world belongs to a different part of Greece and, probably, to a later stage in the political and legal development of Archaic society than even the latest strata of the Homeric world—though it is difficult to know how far the change from the easy, confident ascendancy of Homer's *aristoi* to the note of oppression and class struggle sounded in Hesiod reflects his mainland home, his later date, or his different point of view. But in terms of the organization of material life and of the psychology of work and status which that life expresses Homer and Hesiod belong to the same world, and the difference between them is a complementary one. This world is that of the *oikos*—the self-sufficient and patriarchal complement of persons and possessions. In Homer we see only the royal or great noble *oikos*; in Hesiod we are dealing with the *oikos* of the small independent farmer to whom the poem addresses itself. The Homeric lord and the Hesiodic farmer may not belong to the same cultural context in other respects; still, at least for the present purpose, we can usefully think of them as neighbours and

285-6), the truth is that the poet is not concerned with the domestic life of divine households nor, for that matter, with the way of life or outlook of his divine gallery.

¹ On the legitimacy of using epic as a social document four passages are worth quoting. W. E. Gladstone, in the Prolegomena to *Studies in Homer*, 1858 (quoted by Sir John Myres in *Homer and his Critics*, p. 109), has this to say: 'But first, may we not ask, from whence comes the presumption against Homer as an historical authority? . . . Does it not arise from this, that his compositions are poetical, that history has long ceased to adopt the poetical form, that an old association has thus been dissolved, that a new and adverse association has taken its place which connects poetry with fiction; and that we illogically reflect this association upon early times?' Wallon (op. cit., p. 65) writes: 'Or, j'oserais dire que la poésie n'est pas un guide moins sûr que l'histoire. Car, si elle néglige la suite des événements, elle en exprime la pensée et la vie, et le fait qu'elle invente dérive de cet ensemble d'idées qui font le caractère d'une époque.' Aymard makes the same point in *L'Idée du travail*, etc., p. 31, where he says that the epic poets do

not invent either the social or the psychological order which they describe. In the foreword to *The World of Odysseus* Bowra, p. 9, makes a related point when he says that Homer, though of course he possessed an ancient tradition, was writing for his contemporaries, and therefore of a world akin to theirs and intelligible to them.

² For the small farmer in Homer see Finley, op. cit., pp. 57-76. It is worth noting that the word *oikos* is common in the *Works and Days*, generally with the meaning 'house' or 'homestead', but also denoting 'substance' (*Op.* 325) and even 'family' (*Op.* 244). But while in principle the peasant *oikos* is a smaller version of the royal *oikos*, a very important distinction must be observed: whereas the royal *oikos* centred round a town palace (*δῶμα* or *μέγαρον*, see Finley, op. cit., p. 95), to which were attached farms and farm-houses that could be scattered far and wide (cf. *Od.* 14. 96 ff.), the peasant *oikos* consisted of the farm-house and its surrounding land, and nothing more. This difference affects, among other things, the ratio between male and female servant labour (see p. 219, n. 1, below).

contemporaries and take them as complementary witnesses to the life and outlook of that Archaic society which emerges into the light of day out of the mists shrouding the dissolution of the Mycenaean civilization.

Though we speak of 'small farmers', they were not so 'small' that they did not own 'servants' (δμῶες) in the plural or, at the very least, one ox and one female servant (*Op.* 405-6, see note 4). The word δμῶες occurs six times in the latter half of the *Works and Days*.¹ It is always plural, always masculine, and the persons designated by it are always engaged in farm work. Twice we have δμῶος in the masculine singular,² one of these being the little boy who runs behind the sowers covering the seed—an interesting case of a child servant. The other words which can designate male servants in Homer—δρηστήρ, οἰκεύς³—are not found in Hesiod.

More significant, in view of the prevalence of female servants in Homer—we need only think of the 50 maids in the palaces of Odysseus (*Od.* 22. 431) and Alcinoüs (*Od.* 7. 103)—is the absence of any term to denote such persons in Hesiod. The Homeric terms for these women—δμωαί, ἀμφίπολος, γυναῖκες, δρήστειρα, and, twice only (*Il.* 3. 409, *Od.* 4. 12), δούλη—are not found. Nevertheless, we know from the passage about the ox and female servant (*Op.* 405-6) that there were such women in the small *oikos*. Hesiod here lays down as the first requirements for success 'A house, a woman, and a plough-ox—an owned woman, not a wife (γυναῖκα . . . κτητήν), who could, at a pinch, follow the oxen (i.e. plough)'.⁴ A difficult passage (*Op.* 602-3) advises the farmer, at the end of threshing-time, to do something relating to a θῆς and also to find himself a childless girl (ἔριθος).⁵ Both the word ἔριθος and the context suggest a hired maid in our own sense rather than an owned servant—a category not found in Homer, but with an interesting parallel in the *Hymn to Demeter* (*Hom. Hymns* 2. 168-73), which both in place and time of composition is thought to be close

¹ Δμῶες occurs at l. 459, 502, 573, 597, 608, and 766. Cf. 441 ff., where Hesiod recommends that 'a lusty man of 40' should drive the plough-team, for younger men are too interested in their fellows (δμήλικας), sc. to keep their mind on their work which again implies a plurality of (male) farm hands in whom we surely have the same persons as in the δμῶες of the other six passages.

² Δμῶος of the little boy (*Op.* 470); in the phrase δμῶος Ἀθηναίης (*Op.* 430), which is discussed below.

³ Ἀνδράποδα (*Il.* 7. 475) is generally agreed to be a post-Archaic textual intrusion.

⁴ *Op.* 405-6: I here follow Sinclair (op. cit., commentary, ad loc.) who also cites Sittl to the effect that, even if l. 406 is rejected as an interpolation, the γυναῖκα of l. 405 is still a servant, not a wife. This seems likely in view of the immediate context of this line. At 397 ff. Hesiod says 'Work, foolish Perses, lest you starve with your wife and children', so that the natural assumption during the lines which follow is that the poet is telling a man with a family to feed how to equip himself with the 'basics' needed to make an independent living—a building to

house his implements (and the family too, no doubt, but that is not the point here, l. 407) and a minimum labour force (for the meaning of χρήματα in this passage cf. Aymard, *Hierarchie*, etc., p. 138, n. 2). One ox was indeed not much (cf. the plural of *Il.* 406, 607, 434, etc.; two was perhaps normal, cf. *Il.* 436 ff., 608, etc.). So, too, one female servant, who might 'at a pinch' help in the fields, was not much, and several male hands was the norm. Was a woman perhaps cheaper to buy?

⁵ *Op.* 602-3: θῆτά τ' ἄοικον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἄτεκνον ἔριθον / διζῆσθαι κάλομαι. Sinclair (Commentary, ad loc.) translates: 'I bid thee get a farm steward without a household of his own and seek a woman servant without children.' θῆς and ἔριθος, he says, are both free paid hirelings, and he disputes the interpretation of H. G. Evelyn-White (in the Loeb edition, 1914) and of A. S. F. Gow (*C.Q.* xi [1917], 116) that Hesiod is telling his farmer to 'fire' his man and 'hire' a maid. His interpretation is based on three arguments:

1. That ἄοικον is better taken to mean 'without an *oikos* of his own' than 'without

to the *Works and Days*.¹ It is worth noting that the little boy already mentioned (*Op.* 470), if we take him seriously, must prove the presence of female owned servants in the *oikos* of the small independent farmer, whether he was born there or, more probably, bought with his mother.

Thus we have two linked features: a strong preponderance of male over female servants and a strong emphasis on outdoor work on the farm as opposed to indoor work in the house (see p. 219, n. 1 below). The latter was presumably left to the wife, single-handed or perhaps with one maid (cf. *Hom. Hymns* 2. 156). Of the conditions of the servants we learn nothing except that they shared the master's work and home. Hesiod prescribes that they should be allowed to take things easy after the end of threshing, just as he admonishes the farmer to look well after his stock and his housedog (*Op.* 604-8). Moreover, whatever they are doing, the servants are almost always mentioned in association with their master, who thus shares or supervises their work in person; and twice Hesiod enjoins on him the need to instruct them in farming lore (*Op.* 502 and 766).

Whereas in the great Homeric *oikos* the male members of the family, even

a roof over his head'. But this is a matter of preference (see Liddell and Scott, s.v.), cf. Gow, loc. cit.

2. Sinclair points to the voice of ποιῖσθαι and shows that it ought to mean 'get for oneself'. But Gow's comparison of *Op.* 707-8 should, as he himself says, give us pause in coming to that conclusion.

3. Sinclair interprets the whole passage *Op.* 601-5 as concerned with the safeguarding of the garnered harvest. The maid too is to be hired for this purpose. On this interpretation he bases his translation of θῆς as 'steward'. To this there is a twofold objection: (a) Sinclair, following Gow, rightly rejects Evelyn-White's rendering of θῆς as 'bondman' on the grounds that the word is never so used in Homer, but always means a hired labourer. Yet the status of steward rings just as unfamiliarly in connexion with this word as does that of bondman. The word simply does not mean 'steward' anywhere else. And, as a matter of fact, what would a full-time steward be doing, round the farmer's homestead, watching the grain? A farmer will keep a watchdog, but hardly a watchman. (b) It seems more probable that the maid was hired for the regular female work of grinding the corn to make meal to feed the family during the year. (Cf. *Od.* 7. 104, etc., though in Homer the women are always owned servants; Aymard, *Hétarchie*, etc., p. 132, thinks that the small farmer gave out his grinding to a professional miller, but there does not seem to be any real evidence for this and it appears unlikely, particularly in view of the present passage.)

4. Lastly, there is the following consideration: The corn has been harvested in May

(see Sinclair, Commentary on ll. 382-4); threshing is to begin in late June or early July; when threshing is over and fodder has been stored for the cattle for winter, then the farm hands and the oxen are to have a rest (*Op.* 597-608). The rest presumably corresponds to the famous 'dog days' of late summer, say the month of August. It is at this point that the injunction concerning the θῆς and the ἐργαθός occurs. The next operation is the beginning of vintage, in September (*Op.* 608-11; for the seasonal sequence see Sinclair, Commentary, 597-611). It seems likely enough that the farmer would hire an extra hand late in April for harvest and threshing and then dismiss him before the rest of the dog days and find himself free to hire a maid in his place, who would be more suited to the work now waiting to be done of grinding the family's meal supply. The phrase δοῖκον ποιῖσθαι certainly seems to drive home the hard fact that the man will now be without a roof over his head. But casual labour at harvest time is a common feature of agriculture, and farmers, whose lives are often hard, are notoriously not given to sentiment. On balance, therefore, this would seem a more satisfactory interpretation both of the difficult lines 602-3 and of the whole passage in which they stand (597-608).

¹ For the composition of the *Hymn to Demeter* see the discussion in *The Homeric Hymns*, ed. Allen, Halliday, and Sykes (2nd ed. Oxford, 1936), pp. 111 ff. Westermann is surely wrong to think that ἀμείβολοι can ever refer to free hirelings in Homer (see p. 213, n. 1, above).

the lord himself, might work in the fields without thereby lowering themselves, for the small independent farmer of Hesiod this was the way he spent his days—or went hungry, even if much of his work consisted in supervision of the servants. Apart from the word *αὐτός* 'himself' in one passage (*Op.* 459) there is no word that could be rendered 'master' (or, for that matter, 'mistress')—neither a word with stem *δεσπο-*, not found in Hesiod, nor the regular Homeric word *ἀναξ* 'lord', which in Hesiod is reserved as a title of Zeus (*Op.* 69). This serves to underline the fact that the Homeric *ἀναξ* is the 'lord' of the *oikos* as a whole rather than the 'master' of the servants. The small farmer is just as much master of his servants, fewer though they be; but he is not a 'lord' in any sense.

To Hesiod as to Homer physical work is not degrading. But it is interesting to find him saying so explicitly, as though he felt that some might think it was.¹ Hesiod's exhortations to work hard are often held up for contrast with the contempt for physical work which contributed so largely to the later, Classical, outlook on slavery. It would be quite wrong, however, to imagine that work is positively honourable to Hesiod. The need to work hard and to wring a living from the earth is part of the order of the Iron Age of the world. The tone is rather: 'No man wants to work, but this is the only honest road to wealth and the reputation and worth which wealth brings; and, moreover, the gods approve of it' (*Op.* 42 ff. and 299 ff., cf. 176–7, 382, 397).

Thus Hesiod's philosophy of work is that it is something enjoined by good sense, by morality, and by piety; but the need for it is a divine punishment, a burden, part of his pessimistic interpretation of human life. It shows clearly how much Hesiod has the small farmer and not the great lord in mind. For the latter the link between work on the one hand and wealth and standing on the other was much less imperious and immediate, for warfare and raiding provided him with a direct and normal alternative, if not indeed the original source, of wealth and standing. It is significant that this last factor seems to lie entirely outside the small farmer's horizon. Not only is Hesiod no war poet,² but unlike Homer, even in the *Odyssey*, he seems to move in a world that knows

¹ Aymard (opp. cit.) convincingly argues the thesis that at this stage of Greek development what mattered was not what work a man might do at any time, but whether he did it for himself (and family) and as an independent agent or in some way at another's commissioning—in other words, whether the work he did made him more his own master or just the reverse. Cf. Finley, op. cit., p. 76.

² H. T. Wade-Gery in his essay on Hesiod (*Essays in Greek History*, Oxford, 1958, no. 1) says that for a poet of Hesiod's time not to treat of war was as remarkable as it would be for a modern author to ignore love (p. 14). War there certainly was in Hesiod's time and it must have furnished a large proportion of the servants whom we find in Homeric and Hesiodic society, though Hesiod, in those passages in which he does mention war (*Op.* 161–8, 228–9, 245–7) makes no mention of captivity, but simply regards it in toto as

an unmitigated curse. While Wade-Gery's remark may be true as a judgement on the literature of the period, Aymard (*Hierarchie*, etc., p. 143) is surely right in pointing out that war actually increased in importance with the coming of the Classical period. 'Heroic' war of the Homeric type (cf. *Op.* 161–8) was part of the 'glorious' legendary material which Homer handled, but not necessarily of the times in which and for which he and, above all, Hesiod wrote. Perhaps we need not be quite so surprised if war is conspicuous by its absence from the contents of Pandora's box of human ills (*Op.* 100–4) and from the portrait of the evil Iron Age (*Op.* 144–201). We may add that in both these passages there is certainly no mention of captivity or servanthood (let alone 'slavery'; see below, p. 218) as characteristics of the wretchedness of the human condition.

nothing of war. This is why he throws no light whatever on the subject of captives. For the picture of domestic agricultural service needs to be complemented, as it is in Homer, by information on the capture and commercial exchange of those who became the domestic servants. In Hesiod only the use of the word *κτητός* in a doubtful line (*Op.* 406) testifies to the existence of such exchange. Otherwise, without drawing on extraneous knowledge, we should simply be left to wonder where these servants came from and what their status was. As it is we can be confident that the *δμῶες* of Hesiod are personally owned servants, i.e. 'chattel slaves' (but see p. 219, n. 1 below).

Yet while they are clearly 'slaves' in terms of the history of social institutions, they are equally clearly not 'slaves' in terms of the history of social consciousness. The word 'slave' has been avoided deliberately as a rendering of *δμῶες* or as a word of reference to any person within Homeric and Hesiodic society, on the grounds that the English word 'slave' suggests all the overtones of the Greek *δοῦλος*, which have no place in the true picture of that society.¹ The validity of this conclusion in the case of Hesiod depends on its being true for Homeric society, of which so much more can be discovered. This conclusion, which can here only be stated, is that the epic poems as a whole reflect a stage of Hellenic society which is fully slave-owning but still without any concept or consciousness of slavery; that this latter is specifically, if not exclusively, connected with the word *δοῦλος*, which is very rare in Homer and, together with its companion *ἐλεύθερος*, entirely absent from Hesiod. A good illustration of this point is provided by what was said above concerning the word *ἀναξ*. It would have been impossible for Hesiod to apply this word to his small farmer to mean 'master' *vis-à-vis* the servant—which is one of its commonest uses in Homer—because this would have flown in the face of the distinction between the great lord and the small farmer which dominated Archaic social consciousness. We can see retrospectively that the distinction between the small farmer and the servant was socially just as enormous, if indeed not more so, than the distinction between the great lord and the small farmer; just as to the Classical Greek the difference between the *δοῦλος* and the *ἐλεύθερος* would have seemed even more radical than that between the small independent peasant and the great nobleman. But to the Hesiodic farmer and the Homeric lord this idea had not occurred—a fundamental fact which is obscured, if not tacitly denied, by using the word 'slave'.

Thus the main conclusion emerging from the *Works and Days* themselves is

¹ All the writers cited on p. 213, n. 1, above use the term 'slavery' in relation to household labour in Archaic Greece. The point is only tangential in the case of Finley, and of Aymard, who is primarily concerned with the psychology of work in relation to the free individual, not with the psychology of status in relation to 'class'. On this point the etymological link of *δμῶς*, the characteristic Homeric-Hesiodic term, with *δαμνάω* has perhaps done much to project into our picture of Archaic society the idea, not born till the age of the sophists, that 'slavery is based on force' and the like. For if Homeric society used a word to mean 'servant' whose root idea was that of forcible overpowering, this

suggests that the Sophistic notion was somehow already inherent in the Homeric outlook. The attractiveness of this idea to scholars like Wallon (see *op. cit.*, p. 66) again shows, as does the use of the word 'slave', the hold which the assumptions of the Classical era have established over our minds. Recent philology strongly favours the etymological link of *δμῶς* with *domo-* 'house' (see Boissacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4th ed., s.v.; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Lieferung 5, 1957, s.v., who, however, still renders *δμῶς* as 'slave', which Boissacq rightly avoids). Nevertheless this red herring is still with us, e.g. Max Pohlenz *Griechische Freiheit* (Heidelberg, 1955), p. 8.

that owned servants, especially males,¹ formed an integral and important part of the lives not only of the great lords but also of the smaller independent farmers within a society which was fully slave-owning but as yet almost wholly un-slave-conscious. Whatever discrepancy there may be in place, in date, and in material conditions and character between the society which produced the Homeric poems and that which produced the *Works and Days*, and despite the difference in point of view as between the courtly heroic and the didactic peasant poetry, they seem to represent the same stage of development, both materially and psychologically, in relation to slavery.

In the Homeric poems it is chiefly in the seven occurrences of the stem δουλ-² that we can see the first glimmerings of a consciousness of slavery. It remains for us to note the one indication of this consciousness that appears in the *Works and Days*. It is the use of the word δμῶος 'servant' in a metaphorical sense in the phrase δμῶος Ἀθηναίης (*Op.* 430) 'servant of Athena' to designate the wainwright. The significance of this phrase lies in the fact that metaphors of this kind are the smoke which reveal the fire of social consciousness.

The class of specialists called in Homer *demoergoi*³—a word not found in Hesiod—is mentioned in connexion with the healthy rivalry existing between practitioners of the same skill—potters, carpenters, minstrels (*Op.* 25-26). The

¹ This conclusion seems to me to raise the very real difficulty that, as generally assumed, this is the reverse of the position in the great Homeric *oikos*, where modern writers strongly discount male servant labour on any scale (see Wallon, p. 79; Finley, p. 56; Westermann, p. 2). How then do we account for this difference as between the noble and the peasant labour force? It is not possible to do more here than indicate the lines of a possible answer:

1. Though in Homer we hear much more of female servants, this is because the poet is not primarily interested, as is Hesiod, in the work of the fields. His scene is laid mostly in the great town dwelling (see Finley, p. 95) which, as we have already noted (p. 214, n. 2 above), does not form part of the peasant *oikos* of Hesiod; and there we would indeed expect a heavy preponderance of female over male servant labour. On the land, however, the noble did indeed have servant labour proportionable to that of the Hesiodic farmer, and thus owned male and female servants in roughly equal proportions: see especially *Od.* 14. 96-104 and 409-17, 24. 210, with which last cf., for what it may be worth, the evidence of the *Shield of Heracles* cited on p. 213, n. 2 above.

2. The problem of where these equal numbers of male servants came from, since often the men were killed when the women were made captive, may be solved by evidence such as that of *Il.* 21. 102 ff., which suggests that the making and selling of male prisoners-of-war may have been a common enough practice. In default of some such explanation

two things would follow: first, passages such as those from *Od.* 14 just cited would imply that free retainers or *thetes* worked on the land of great nobles on a much larger scale than owned servants; secondly, it would make the problem of accounting for the source of the Hesiodic farmer's male labour force so difficult (on the assumption that they were in fact the victims of wars or kidnapping raids made captive and transported and sold) that we should be driven back on to *ex silentio* speculations. For example: might they after all be sold debt-bondsman? Might they, in Boeotia, belong to something like a subdued serf class, like the Thessalian *Penestae*, which became extinct soon afterwards—and so not be at all parallel to the Homeric δμῶες, since Homer wrote in lands and of lands which had not experienced the Dorian invasion as had Boeotia? Or, finally, are the δμῶες mentioned in the *Works and Days* a peculiar property of Hesiod and Perses whom their father—an Aeolian, we remember, from Cyme—had owned in Asia Minor and had brought with him to a land where farmers, for the most part, did not in fact own servants?

² The root δουλ- occurs in Homer at the following points: δουλή *Il.* 3. 409, *Od.* 4. 12; δούλιον: *Il.* 6. 463, *Od.* 14. 340, 17. 323; δούλειον: *Od.* 24. 252; δουλοσύνη: *Od.* 22. 423. *Δεύτερος* occurs at *Il.* 6. 455 and 528, 16. 831 and 20. 193; it does not occur in the *Odyssey*.

³ For *demoergoi* see Finley, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

The *demioergoi* were specialists, living perhaps on a contract basis by the exercise of their skills. The use of the phrase *δμῶς Ἀθηναίης* 'servant of Athena' in such a down-to-earth context suggests that this was a familiar idea—an idea or metaphor which attempted to explain the social situation of such persons, who were landless, yet sharply distinguished from agricultural hirelings by their skills, through which they enjoyed a special relationship to a patron deity that was rather like that of the farm servant to his master, whose work it was his function in life to share. Whatever its explanation may be, the phrase is of special interest, because it is the one example in Hesiod of the servant status used in this extended or metaphorical way. The idea of retainer-ship to express the relationship between men prominent in some activity and the patron deity of that activity is familiar in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 2. 110, where Agamemnon calls the whole assembly of the Danaans 'retainers of Ares'. But the use of the word *δμῶς* in this connexion is something different and new, and heralds the advent of social reflection about the servant status.

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THEMISTOKLES AND ARGOS¹

THEMISTOKLES was ostracized in the late 470's,² probably in spring 471 or 470; if we are to believe Thucydides, he did not write to Artaxerxes in Persia until 465 at the earliest.³ In some way or other his stay in Argos and visits to the rest of the Peloponnese, his wanderings in northern Greece, and his delay in Asia Minor must be extended to fill this gap of at least five years. There is evidence of a sort, there are arguments good and bad for the lengthening or shortening of any of these episodes, but none of this evidence or argument is conclusive.⁴ Between 470 and 465 no event in Themistokles' life can be securely dated; there is no fixed chronological pattern into which a reconstruction of the political history of Athens and the Peloponnese during these years must fit. Since the reconstruction which I attempt here is itself based on evidence which is far from adequate, plausibility is the most that can be claimed for it or for the chronological scheme which I infer from it.

ARGOS, 494-465

In 494 or thereabouts Kleomenes destroyed the Argive army at Sepeia.⁵ This disaster was not perhaps as serious as the Argives later pretended, for only a few years afterwards a thousand Argives fought and for the most part died in Aigina.⁶ But it was serious enough to disrupt the Argive constitution at the time and to give them for years to come a plausible excuse for military inactivity.⁷ At the same time Kleomenes did not go on to capture Argos itself, a strange omission for which he was called to account on his return to Sparta.⁸ Kleomenes could not or would not occupy Argos. The story of Telesilla implies the first,⁹ Herodotus the second, and the two accounts cannot be reconciled. Telesilla's success cannot be identified with the 'female victory' in the oracle reported by Herodotus, whose whole account is based on the assumption that Kleomenes made no attempt on Argos.¹⁰ Besides, it is the 'female victory' which will cause the Argive losses or at least the Argive mourning and it must, therefore, precede the defeat at Sepeia; Telesilla's exploits followed it. It is true that in his story of Delphic puns and flaming statues Herodotus appears to be using Kleomenes' defence at his trial, a misleading source,¹¹ but this defence was successful—he cannot have tampered too drastically with the public facts, he could not hush up an unsuccessful siege. Kleomenes, then, spared Argos

¹ I am particularly indebted to Professor A. Andrewes and Mr. G. E. M. de Ste Croix for their advice and criticism.

² The date depends on whether we regard the *Persae* of Aeschylus as a pre-ostracism defence or a post-ostracism justification of Themistokles. I have little doubt that it was the former (cf. M. Cary, *C.R.* xxxvi [1922], 161 ff.), but this can hardly be proved. In what follows I shall, for simplicity, accept 470 (which I believe to have been Diodoros' date (11. 55), cf. below, p. 241), but my argument would not be affected by an earlier dating.

³ Thuc. 1. 137. 3.

⁴ For a clear statement of the issues see Gomme, *H.C.T.* i. 397-401.

⁵ Hdt. 6. 77-81.

⁶ Hdt. 6. 92. 2-3.

⁷ Hdt. 7. 148.

⁸ Hdt. 6. 82.

⁹ Sokrates of Argos, *F.G.H.* 310 F 6 (its earliest attested appearance, but cf. Jacoby, *Commentary*, ad. loc.).

¹⁰ 6. 77. 2. Cf. Jacoby, loc. cit. (with nn. and bibliography). Recently both R. Crahay (*La Littérature oraculaire*, pp. 172-5) and R. F. Willetts (*Hermes*, lxxvii [1959], 501-2) defend the story in whole or part but neither explains the basic contradiction.

¹¹ Cf. Crahay, loc. cit.

deliberately. Was the reason bribery, as his accusers claimed, or policy?¹ At first the slaughter of the Argives after the battle was highly selective: deserters provided Kleomenes with the names of the victims²—an effective way of ridding oneself of political enemies. Did Kleomenes, forgetting the lesson of 508, hold back because he hoped that these deserters, their opponents eliminated, would acquire sufficient influence to direct Argive policy in a way more favourable to himself, though not necessarily to Sparta as such or at least to those Spartans who at once accused and later killed him?

At any rate, Herodotus and Aristotle agree that power in Argos passed into new hands after Sepeia.³ Aristotle gives as one cause of political revolution a sudden upsetting of the balance between different classes in a state. In the context it is clear that the first three examples which he cites represent shifts towards democracy. One of these is Argos after Sepeia, when, he says, certain of the *perioikoi* were admitted to citizenship: Argos, then, became more democratic after Sepeia. Whether this implies drastic constitutional reform or no more than a change of emphasis in the Argive government we cannot tell, though Aristotle's use of the example suggests some appreciable alteration.⁴ Again it is clear that Aristotle sees these *perioikoi* as the power behind the post-Sepeia government or even as the government itself; their admission is not merely an illustration of a new democratic temper. But *τῶν perioίκων τινάς* is ambiguous. Aristotle may have meant that certain perioikic families were taken in, *τῶν perioίκων τοὺς ἀρίστους* as Plutarch says,⁵ or that the whole population of certain perioikic cities was enfranchised, as Pausanias, at first sight, seems to suggest.⁶ The first is more attractive. In the early fifth century we are still in the world of family politics and it is easier to understand how the importation of selected perioikic houses might alter the balance in Argive faction politics than to imagine how the wholesale enfranchisement of cities could so dramatically alter the political complexion of Argos, could provide the power basis for what appeared, to Aristotle at any rate, as a democracy.

No one will defend Herodotus' story that, after Sepeia, the Argive slaves took over the country and governed it until the next generation of true Argives grew up to expel them. But it is as well to note Herodotus' words here, *ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες*. We are not saving his face by seeing the slaves as influential farm overseers who may have held minor office.⁷ They are in charge of Argos itself. We must either accept a government of slaves, which is incredible, or account for the story. It is, I think, a fair guess that this version of the events of 494 originated among the political opponents of the *douloi*, among a group whose fathers had died at Sepeia and who had eventually been able to get their revenge; men, that is, who had to accept the undeniable fact of Argive Medism and Argive weakness during the previous years but tried to justify it by tales of military disaster and unworthy, indeed un-Argive, governments. Herodotus' notorious bias in favour of the Alkmeonids and Kimonids and against Themistokles shows clearly enough that he moved in the circle of the 'international aristocracy'.⁸ Its

¹ 6. 82.

² 6. 79. 1.

³ Hdt. 6. 83; Ar. *Pol.* 1303^a6.

⁴ In what follows the authors of the change are described as 'democrats' only to distinguish them from their predecessors.

⁵ Plut. *Mor.* 245 f.

⁶ Paus. 8. 27. 1. See further below, p. 224.

⁷ P. A. Seymour, *J.H.S.* xlii (1922), 24-30; R. F. Willetts, loc. cit.

⁸ Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* lii (1932), 205-27 (*Essays in Greek History* 239-70).

Argive members would be 'the sons of the slain', friends of Kimon, the Alkmeonids, and Pindar, enemies of Themistokles and Aeschylus.¹ It would be from men like these that Herodotus learned of the rule of the 'slaves' and heard the excuses for Argive Medism which he reproduces in 8. 148-52. If so, the term *douloi* is no more than political abuse and as such need have very little to do with literal *douleia*. The name might be applied to anyone outside the traditional ruling class, to new democratic leaders who were not aristocrats of the highest class, or even to aristocrats who were prepared to court the *demos*; or to Aristotle's *perioikoi*; or it could mean that the democratic leaders were criticized for their submission to some external power, to Kleomenes or even to Xerxes.² *Novi homines*, *perioikoi*, puppets, or traitors—and it is by no means easy to choose between them. The Kleomenes hypothesis is attractive for, as we shall see, the *douloi* seem to have followed, at least in their dealings with Arkadia, the tradition of King Meltas who had used non-Dorian allies in his war against Sparta, rather than that of the Dorian aristocrats who had expelled him for this very reason:³ the tradition of Kleomenes the Achaean.⁴ On the other hand, it is clearly safer to accept the easy reconciliation of Herodotus' and Aristotle's versions, to assume that they were *perioikoi*. They may, of course, have been both; *perioikoi* would be among the first to desert to Kleomenes, and it may have been the hope of disaffection in perioikic Tiryns which brought him by the sea-route to the Argolid.⁵

In either case Plutarch's interpretation of Aristotle is confirmed, since Herodotus is undoubtedly talking of a government; οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περιοίκων became part of the governing group at Argos, though perhaps only a part of it, for the mechanics of a purely perioikic *coup d'état* are difficult to imagine. Some Argives, no doubt, were prepared to play the Livius Drusus and became *douloi* by association.

It also follows that *perioikos* is not being used in this context as a simple geographical description; some special political status is implied. Nor is it being used as a technical term for some depressed class of Argives, for example the *γυμνήτες* with whom the *douloi* have sometimes been equated.⁶ In the first case the nickname *doulos* would be pointless; the second is ruled out since *γυμνήτες*, even the best of them, are not the stuff of which governments are made.⁷ These Argive *perioikoi* were somewhere between, citizens of technically independent communities which were yet, in some sense, subject to Argos, and

¹ For Pindar, below, pp. 228-9 and 232; for Aeschylus, below, pp. 236 ff. Is it an accident that Herodotus mentions Pindar only to approve (3. 38) and Aeschylus only to rebuke (2. 156)? Cf. also C. M. Bowra, *C.Q.* xxxii (1938), 84-85.

² I know of no exact parallel to this use but it is a possible extension from, for example, *Hdt.* 6. 11. 1.

³ A. Andrewes, *C.Q.* xlv (1951), 39-45; cf. *B.C.H.* lxxx (1956), 38-39.

⁴ Wade-Gery, *C.A.H.* iii. 565 ff.; cf. W. Wallace, *J.H.S.* lxxiv (1954), 32-35.

⁵ *Hdt.* 6. 76. 2.

⁶ Newman, *Comm. on Ar. Pol.* iv. 304 n.; Willetts, art. cit. 496 ff.

⁷ For this reason alone it is difficult to accept Willetts's claim that Aristotle also

meant the *γυμνήτες* by his *perioikoi*. In support of this he offers two arguments: (a) that Aristotle is thinking of a large depressed class; (b) that the word *perioikos* for Aristotle usually implies serfdom. The first depends on an unjustifiable equation of the *perioikoi* with τῶν ἀπόρων πλῆθος of 1303²; the second on a confusion between *perioikos* as a general term (where its meaning may legitimately be established by a study of the author's usage) and as a specific term (where its meaning depends on the usage of the state in question). Here it may be general but, if there were Argive *perioikoi* in the other sense, the chances are that it is not. Cf. D. Lotze, *Μεταφύ' Ελευθέρων καὶ Δούλων* (Berlin, 1959), pp. 8 ff. and 53-54.

we know from other sources that Argos did control an area of subject territory the inhabitants of which did not rank as Argives.¹ For the exact nature of the bond there is no evidence nor can we be sure that it was the same in every case,² but we may guess at something approaching the relationship which existed between Sparta and the perioikic townships of Lakonia, less rigid perhaps, and certainly less stable, as the power of Argos itself was less stable between 550 and 450, but in broad outline the same.³

Pausanias⁴ may give us the names of some of the townships from which these *perioikoi* came, but the value of his evidence is difficult to assess: *συνῆλθον . . . οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ἅτε καὶ Ἀργεῖους ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔτι παλαιότερα μόνον οὐ κατὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην κινδυνεύοντας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων παραστήναι τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπων πληθεῖ τὸ Ἄργος ἐπηύξησαν καταλύσαντες Τίρυνθα καὶ Ὑσιᾶς τε καὶ Ὀρνείας καὶ Μυκήνας καὶ Μίδειαν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἦν, τὰ τε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδέεστερα τοῖς Ἀργείοις ὑπάρξαντα καὶ ἅμα ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ἰσχύον γενομένην αὐτοῖς.* There is undoubtedly some confusion here; as Gschnitzer has shown, the passage must refer to a series of Argive actions from Tiryns and Mykenai in the seventies and sixties to Orneai in 416.⁵ But from other sources it is clear that no citizens of Mykenai nor probably of Tiryns were taken in by Argos after these campaigns,⁶ and Pausanias himself seems to have in mind a specific situation (very much like that which followed Sepeia) and a specific action (differing only in one respect from that which Aristotle describes), not a gradual process. The solution might be that selected *perioikoi* were admitted in 494 from Orneai, Hysiai, Mideaia, and even from Tiryns and Mykenai; that some Tirynthians and Mykenaians saw in Argive weakness a chance to declare their independence, others preferred to move into Argos;⁷ that the tradition of this incorporation was then confused with the later attacks by Argos on these independent towns. Or to put it in another way: that there were two political groups in Argos before 494, an aristocratic group in power and a democratic group who favoured or were prepared to accept synoecism; that there were similarly two groups in the perioikic towns, a democratic group who favoured synoecism and their opponents who preferred independence; that the defeat brought the democrats to power in Argos and with them a partial synoecism. The results were those that Pausanias describes. By the time of the battle of Tegea τὰ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδέεστερα τοῖς Ἀργείοις ὑπήρξεν, while the attack on Mykenai illustrates τὴν εἰς τοὺς περιοίκους ἰσχύον.

It is, then, certain that new men came to power in Argos in 494 and that these men were, in some sense of the word, democrats, men of origins or opinions

¹ Larsen, art. 'Perioikoi' in *R.E.* and the full and admirable discussion by F. Gschnitzer, 'Abhängige Orte', *Zetemata* xvii (1958), pp. 68-81.

² We cannot infer from Hdt. 8. 73 the existence of a general term, Orneatai, and hence a general status for Argive *perioikoi*. The passage mean 'the people of Orneai and those who live around it'; cf. Larsen, loc. cit.

³ Cf. Larsen, loc. cit. ⁴ 8. 27. 1.

⁵ Loc. cit. For Tiryns and Mykenai see below, pp. 230 ff.; for Orneai, Thuc. 5. 67, 6. 7, Diod. 12. 81.

⁶ Mykenai: Paus. 7. 25. 5. Paus. 2. 25. 8 talks of absorption of the Tirynthians but I take it that he is repeating the confused tradition of 8. 27. 1. Some Tirynthians at least were not absorbed: Hdt. 7. 137; Ephoros, *F.G.H.* 70 F 56; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τίρυνς*; Strabo, p. 373.

⁷ For the independence of Tiryns and Mykenai between 494 and c. 470 cf., e.g., Hdt. 7. 202, 9. 28. 4. If this suggestion is correct, some of the *douloi* were only returning home when μέγχι ἰσχυον Τίρυνθα (Hdt. 6. 83).

unacceptable to the Argive aristocrat. It is likely that this group included a number of important citizens from the perioikic cities and that the presence of these *perioikoi* earned for the whole group the nickname 'doulai'. Alternatively the name might be based on the collaboration of these democrats with Kleomenes but this would not exclude the participation of *perioikoi* in the collaboration and the *coup d'état* which followed it.

But the *doulai* were eventually expelled,¹ and here again it is worth noting Herodotus' words, ἐξέβαλον, ἐξωθεύμενοι—there is no question of a negotiated withdrawal, they were driven out by force. In our terms, there was counter-revolution; the aristocrats, led by men whose fathers had died at Sepeia, were able to drive out the democrats, and, if these terms are correct, attempts to calculate the date at which a sufficient number of the sons of the slain should have reached manhood will not help.² The change may have occurred at any time at which the aristocratic leaders could say 'we have avenged our fathers'; in other words, at any time between 490 and 430. Fortunately, however, the *terminus ante quem* is fixed by the revolt of the *doulai* from Tiryns, which they seized on their expulsion from Argos.³ This can hardly be later than the mid-sixties⁴ and since there was a period of peace between the expelled and their expellers which was long enough to earn comment (τέως μὲν δὴ σφί ἦν ἄρθμα ἐς ἀλλήλους) we may perhaps use 467 as an approximate lower limit. But between 490 and c. 467 choice is free; democratic or undemocratic activity by Argos during these years is the only guide to the date of this interlude of aristocratic reaction.⁵

Even here the direct evidence is slight. The only points which may be relevant are these:

(1) At some time before 487, probably in the year of Marathon, the Argives refused to help Aigina in resisting an Athenian attempt to instal a democracy there.⁶ It is tempting to interpret this as a sign of Argive sympathy for democracy and to see in the thousand volunteers who fought for the Aiginetans a group of dissident aristocrats.

(2) Even earlier Argos had imposed a fine on Sikyon for help given to Kleomenes in 494.⁷ Now that we have made the *doulai* respectable, Busolt's argument that only old Dorian Argos could exercise such authority, ceases to have much weight and the incident is not, I think, significant either way.⁸

(3) In 481 Spartan envoys in Argos talk of an Argive king and do business with an Argive *boule* which, it is often said, must be an aristocratic *boule* since it makes decisions without reference to the *demos*.⁹ But the Argive king had probably lost all real power a century or more before Sepeia and is introduced in 481 only as a Spartan debating point. The mere existence of the office would

¹ Hdt. 6. 83.

² Cf. Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³ Hdt. *loc. cit.*

⁴ See below, pp. 230 ff.

⁵ It was, of course, no more than an interlude. Democracy had been re-established by the time of the Athenian alliance of the late sixties, or, rather, democrats were once again in power. It is not necessary to suppose that there was any constitutional change in either case; only that, for a time, Argos was governed, perhaps under the constitution of

494, by aristocrats; that men like Kimon in Argos expelled men like Themistokles and were later defeated by men like Ephialtes. As I see it the parallel between Athens and Argos could be close. But cf. below, p. 240.

⁶ Hdt. 6. 92. Herodotus' date, which I prefer, has recently been defended by N. G. L. Hammond, *Historia*, iv (1955), 406–11.

⁷ Hdt. 6. 92.

⁸ *Gr. G.* 564, 2. 2.

⁹ Cf., e.g., Busolt, *loc. cit.*, Hdt. 7. 148–9.

be enough to explain their argument.¹ The *boule*, it is true, appears to have considerable power but this does not necessarily imply that it is aristocratic. Before the battle of Salamis Morychides finds the Kleisthenic *boule* prepared to act as if it had almost equal powers.² If Herodotus is misleading in one case he may be misleading in both; if not, we must grant that the democratic *boule* of Athens could in some circumstances act as high-handedly as that of Argos. Besides, a council's powers might vary from democracy to democracy; what matters is the method of election and on that point Herodotus is silent.

(4) The Argive entries at Olympia in 480 and 472 of a *δημόσιος κέλης* and a *δημόσιον τέθριππον* might be those of a democracy which had set up public stables by confiscations from aristocrats,³ but the Boiotian victory of 420⁴ shows that public entries do not always imply democracy.

(5) In 479 Themistokles defended Argos from the vengeance of the patriotic Greeks.⁵ Perhaps he already saw in Argos a potential ally against the menace of Spartan interference which he was beginning to fear,⁶ because he hoped or knew that the Argive leaders at the time would be prepared to join a democratic anti-Spartan alliance. In 470 they did join when Themistokles took refuge in Argos. The synoecism and installation of democracy in Mantinea, Elis, and perhaps Tegea must be the result of Themistokles' activities at this time and, in the case of Mantinea at least, Argos was directly involved.⁷ Themistokles must have known in 470 that the Argives would co-operate. How long he had known it we can only guess, but it is quite probable that the foundations were laid in 479, and that the Argive government was of the same political colour in 479 as in 470.

(6) An Argive inscription of the late 470's confers *proxenia* on a certain Gnosstas of Oinos.⁸ The formula of the prescript is basically democratic, but this need not be significant.⁹ On the other hand, the gift of *proxenia* to a Spartan *perioikos* without the inclusion of the ethnic, though not unparalleled, might be a deliberate affront to Sparta, a claim that she had no right to her *perioikis* which would come well from men who were themselves of perioikic origins.¹⁰

There is, then, no evidence whatsoever for aristocratic reaction in Argos between 494 and 470 and there are even some reasons, admittedly slender reasons, for believing that her government was consistently democratic throughout the period. Is there any evidence for a change in policy between 470 and the lower limit for the expulsion of the *douloi* (c. 467) established above?¹¹

Themistokles was condemned and fled from the Peloponnese at some date between 471 and 466, almost certainly, as I shall argue later, in one of the years with which we are now concerned. Why did he run away? By accepting him

¹ For the collapse of the kingship, Paus. 2. 19. 2 and Andrewes, *C.Q.* xlv (1951), 39-45. For the office in the fifth century, Tod, *G.H.I.* i. 2 33-43.

² Hdt. 9. 5. 1; the implication is that the *bouleutai*, apart from Lykides, were prepared to reject Mardonios' proposals without reference to the people. But it must be admitted that the circumstances were peculiar.

³ P. Oxy. ii. 222. 6 and 31.

⁴ Thuc. 5. 50. 4.

⁵ Plut. *Them.* 20. The story has been

doubted (e.g. *C.A.H.* v. 36) but is credible enough.

⁶ Thuc. 1. 90-92. ⁷ Below, p. 229.

⁸ *B.C.H.* lxxvii (1953), 395-7; *S.E.G.* xiii. 239. Charneux (*B.C.H.*, loc. cit.) dates the letter forms to the sixties but the editor of *S.E.G.* suggests an earlier date. Dr. L. H. Jeffery confirms my own impression that a date in the seventies is more likely to be right; cf. *Local Scripts*, p. 162 (in the press).

⁹ Cf. above, p. 225, n. 5.

¹⁰ But cf. Charneux, loc. cit. ¹¹ p. 225.

and favouring his schemes Argos had committed herself to a policy of open hostility to Sparta and at least by implication to the pro-Spartan Athens of Kimon. One would imagine that it would need more than a joint Spartan-Athenian embassy to make her give up the refugee. Yet, in the event, Themistokles did not even wait to see what this embassy would accomplish.¹ Was Argos no longer reliable? Were Themistokles' friends, the *douloi*, no longer securely in control or had they perhaps already been expelled?² We cannot tell whether Kimon and the Spartans would have arranged or merely taken advantage of this expulsion, whether it would come before, during, or immediately after the flight; but I am fairly certain that the collapse of democracy in Argos and the flight of Themistokles are in some way closely linked with each other.

But the case for aristocratic reaction in Argos during the early sixties does not rest only on a reinterpretation of Themistokles' flight. Delphi after the Persian Wars was an aristocratic place. With the exception of the Stoa,³ the Athenian dedications and consultations of the years 479-460 are all connected with the name of Kimon—the second Marathon base,⁴ the oracle on the bones of Theseus and the dedication which may have followed their recovery,⁵ the Eurymedon palm-tree.⁶ The offerings of Themistokles, on the other hand, were abruptly rejected.⁷ In such a sanctuary the *douloi* would not be welcome, yet one Argive dedication of the period does appear, the statues of the Epigonoi. Pausanias guessed that this was a second Argive monument for the mysterious victory at Oinoe,⁸ but he is certainly wrong. The obvious connexion with the Epigonoi of the heroes of Sepeia was noted already by Pomtow,⁹ who further assumed, no doubt correctly, that the event most likely to be celebrated in this way would be the actual expulsion of the *douloi*. Pomtow would date by Busolt rather than by letter-forms and therefore proposed 'c. 482'; but the French have argued throughout for a lower date and Amandry now suggests 'shortly before 460'.¹⁰ There is no doubt that this is right,¹¹ but, unless we are to assume an improbable delay before the commemoration,¹² it follows that the triumph of the Epigonoi cannot have come later than about 465 nor earlier than about 470. This is chronologically comforting, but the mere appearance of the dedication at Delphi is also, on my hypothesis, politically suitable; the 'sons of the slain' would be at home in Kimon's world.¹³

¹ Thuc. 1. 136. 1, *προσισθόμενος φεύγει*.

² Thucydides does not say whether Themistokles fled from Argos or from some other part of the Peloponnese. He may, therefore, have left Argos before his condemnation.

³ For the date and purpose of this monument see P. Amandry, *F.D. II, La Portique des Athéniens*, c. 3.

⁴ Paus. 10. 10. 1; cf. G. Daux, *Pausanias à Delphes*, pp. 87-88. The addition of Miltiades and the substitution of Theseus, Kodros, and Phyleus for three of the tribal heroes together with the date (see Daux, loc. cit.) makes it almost certain that Kimon was responsible.

⁵ Plut. *Thes.* 36. 1-4; Schol. Aristid. 46, iii, p. 688. I should like to associate the fragmentary dedication, *F.D. III. iv. 190*, with this campaign, cf. *R.B.P.H.* xxxiv (1956), 541-2.

⁶ Paus. 10. 15. 4.

⁷ Paus. 10. 14. 5.

⁸ Paus. 10. 10. 4, cf. 1. 15. 1 and Gomme, *H.C.T.* i. 370 n. 1.

⁹ In *Syll.* 3 28.

¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 104. Cf. *F.D. III. i. 90*.

¹¹ Cf. Dr. L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 162-4, who does not, however, consider the expulsion as a possible occasion.

¹² There are examples of such delays, e.g. the Marathon dedication mentioned above, but they are rare.

¹³ The Phokian *coup* of the fifties (Thuc. 1. 112-15) brought Delphi over to the side of the democrats; to this period I would ascribe the real Oinoe dedication (Paus. 10. 10. 4). At the same time Sparta preferred to advertise her victory at Tanagra at Olympia (Paus. 5. 10. 4; cf. Tod, *G.H.F.* i. 27).

Kimón's world was also Pindar's world.¹ The tenth Nemean, written for performance at Argos in honour of Theaios, an Argive, is not an early work,² nor is it, I feel, a very late one.³ I am not competent to offer any specific arguments on grounds of style, but my impression is that it would fit well enough with the odes which are known to belong to the 460's to allow historical arguments for such a date to have some weight.⁴ Indeed the case for a date in the 440's itself depends far more on history than on style. Three points have been made: (1) that it must follow the capture of Mykenai in 465⁵ since the Mycenaean myth of Amphitryon is transferred to Argos; (2) that it must follow the capture of Tiryns since Pindar boasts of Theaios' Tirynthian ancestry in a way impossible while Tiryns was hostile to or even at war with Argos, and, according to some, in a way which suggests that Theaios had moved to Argos after its fall;⁶ (3) that it must have been written when Sparta and Argos were on good terms since the insistence on Theaios' ancestral relations with the Dioskouroi would otherwise be impossible and that Sparta and Argos were on good terms only before 494 and after 451.⁷

On the assumption of persistent enmity between Argos and Sparta from 494 to 451 (3) has considerable force, but it is no more than an assumption and, although the truce of 451 would allow the possibility of good relations between the two, there is no positive evidence for them. Indeed the continuation of the Argive-Athenian friendship is explicitly recognized in the terms of the Athenian-Spartan peace of 446-445. On the other hand, if I am right about the circumstances of Themistokles' flight, the Epigonoi were at least prepared to accept if not to welcome Spartan interference and it would, in fact, be natural for them to reverse the democratic foreign policy of their predecessors, to align themselves with Sparta and the pro-Spartan Athens of Kimon.⁸ Thus we should have in the sixties a perfect context for the poem. Since it was probably performed in an Olympic year⁹ we must choose between 468 and 464. For chronological reasons which will appear below I prefer the second, a choice which incidentally absolves us from answering (1) and (2), for by then both Mykenai and Tiryns were probably in Argive hands.¹⁰ No doubt, after years of perioikic (i.e. in part Tirynthian) rule and a further period of trouble with Tiryns, Tirynthians were not popular in Pindar's circle; hence vv. 39-41 'A member of the family of Thrasyklos and Antias, Tirynthians though they were, is not to be classed with the *doulot*; even in Argos whose past glory has now returned after

¹ Cf. again Wade-Gery, *op. cit.* above, p. 222, n. 8, and below, p. 234.

² As argued by C. Gaspar, *Chronol. Pindariques*, pp. 28-35.

³ As argued by Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, pp. 423 ff.

⁴ Sir Maurice Bowra (to whom I am deeply grateful for advice on this and other points) writes: 'Nemean X must come from Pindar's prime, viz. the sixties. It is plainly much more confident and solid than Pythian X at one end, and much less allusive and complex than Pythian VIII at the other. It is built very carefully in five sections, each of which comprises a triad. The first deals with Argos, the second with the victor's family, the third with the victor in his family,

the fourth and fifth with the myth. Pindar is seldom so formal as this, and the nearest parallels are Ol. VII and Ol. XIII, both from 464.'

⁵ See below, p. 232.

⁶ e.g. by Farnell, *ad loc.* This is surely wrong. Theaios' mother is a Tirynthian (vv. 38-41) and she may have moved to Argos as early as 500.

⁷ These arguments have been stated and used in several different ways but this is, I think, a fair summary of them.

⁸ Cf. the behaviour of the Argive aristocrats in 418 (Thuc. 5. 76. 2).

⁹ vv. 29-30.

¹⁰ Below, pp. 232.

the subjugation of Mykenai and Tiryns (vv. 1-19) such a man may hold up his head.¹

This guess about the date and background of the tenth Nemean is intended at the most to illustrate the idea of a change in the Argive government. For more solid argument we must turn to the history of Arkadia.

ARKADIA, 491-465

There are four units to be considered in the northern Peloponnese during this period, Elis, an Arkadian League probably dominated by Tegea,² Mantinea, and Argos. Professor Andrewes's account of their relations with each other and with Sparta during the first half of the century in *The Phoenix* lvi (1952), (1-5) leaves little to be said for the earlier years. He distinguishes (a) a period when the League³ was at variance with Sparta in the 480's (the attitude of the other parties is unclear though we may assume that Argos was also hostile⁴), and (b) a period when Elis and Mantinea were the centres of trouble but the League was loyal, at the time of Plataia. Andrewes would extend this second phase down to the late 470's when, as he says, it is very probable that Elis and Mantinea were synoecized and became democracies, the latter with the help of Argos, both with the encouragement of Themistokles,⁵ and when, he would guess, Tegea was still loyal to Sparta. For his belief in this continued loyalty he gives no reasons and I should prefer to imagine that Tegea too, with her League, went over to the anti-Spartan side during the 470's. We do not know the date of the synoecism of Tegea,⁶ but, if Polyainos can be trusted,⁷ she was a democracy some years later. As Andrewes says, we may reasonably associate democracy with synoecism and, therefore, see the arrival of both as a result of the same Themistoklean agitation of the late 470's.⁸ Thus in 470, I would suggest, Elis, Argos, and Arkadia (including both Tegea and Mantinea) formed a solid anti-Spartan bloc across the northern Peloponnese.

It was to this period of unrest that Busolt wished to date the battles of Tegea and Dipaia.⁹ Andrewes would limit the trouble at this time to the appearance of 'the democratic movement' and prefers to assign both battles to the neighbourhood of 465, Tegea before, Dipaia after, the outbreak of the Helot revolt. Busolt's arguments are not compelling¹⁰ and one must, I think, accept the synchronism between Dipaia and the revolt.¹¹ But there is neither argument nor evidence for placing Tegea at the same time.¹² At Tegea the Argives fought

¹ This is not, of course, a paraphrase of Pindar's words.

² I would accept the arguments of W. Wallace (*J.H.S.* lxxiv [1954], 32-35) for the existence of this League.

³ Andrewes speaks of Tegea alone, but cf. the preceding note.

⁴ Mainly on the strength of her attitude in 481 (Hdt. 7. 148-50). Cf. also my suggestion above (p. 222), which would align her with Kleomenes and the Arkadian League in 490.

⁵ Andrewes, pp. 2-3. ⁶ Strabo, p. 337.

⁷ 2. 10. 3; οἱ ἀπαιροὶ are both laconizers and it would seem out of power. The episode cannot be dated exactly—between c. 465 and c. 444?

⁸ For what it is worth, Strabo talks of the

three synoecisms in the same passage, of Mantinea and Tegea in the same sentence. Perhaps we should even understand ὅτι Ἀργεῖων of Tegea as well as Mantinea. Andrewes discounts the stay of Leotychidas in Tegea in the late seventies as evidence for Tegeate hostility towards Sparta. Evidence it is not, but it is suggestive (Hdt. 6. 72. 2; Paus. 3. 5. 6 and 7. 10; cf. Johnston, *Hermathena*, xlv [1931], 106 ff.).

⁹ *G.G.* iii. 120-3.

¹⁰ Even if one accepts his date for Themistokles' flight; cf. Andrewes, loc. cit.

¹¹ Andrewes, pp. 3-4, from Polyainos, 1. 41. 1 and Isok. *Archidamos* 99 (cf. Wade-Gery, *C.Q.* xxxviii [1944], 126 [= *E.G.H.* p. 84]). But see p. 231, n. 4 below.

¹² Sparta won the battle (Hdt. 9. 35. 2)

alongside the Tegeates, at Dipaia the Arkadians fought alone.¹ This is not likely to be the result of accident, for if all the Arkadians had time to assemble, the Mantineans and Argives should have appeared as well. For some reason by 465/464 both Argos and Mantinea have deserted the alliance of 470. To explain this the problem must be made more precise.

There is no evidence whatsoever in the sources for the order of the Argive campaigns against Mykenai and Tiryns,² but a series of doubtful arguments can produce a case against the sequence, Tiryns-Mykenai, which is often accepted.³ One point at issue between Argos and Mykenai was possession of the Heraion.⁴ We are not told who held it at the outbreak of hostilities but in a dedication of about 475 B.C. from the sanctuary we find the ethnic *Ἀργεῖος* added to the dedicator's name.⁵ This implies⁶ that at some point before the beginning of the siege (after which Argos must have been in possession) it was held by Mykenai. It is tempting to think that it was immediately before; that Argos attacked to gain control, not because she felt that her existing control was threatened. But, when Tiryns fell, Argos brought to the Heraion a captured statue of Hera.⁷ It was then presumably held by Argos. But if the Heraion was Mycenaean when Mykenai was attacked, Argive when Tiryns fell, the capture of Tiryns must follow the beginning of the siege of Mykenai. Further, since Argos would hardly open an attack on Mykenai while engaged on a difficult war with Tiryns, the war with Tiryns would begin after the Argives had opened operations against Mykenai, though not necessarily after they had finished them. Clearly there is some doubt at almost every step, but, on the whole, probability is just on our side.

Much more compelling, however, is the close parallel between the situations at the time of Mykenai and Tegea on the one hand and Tiryns and Dipaia on the other. At Tegea Argos helped the Arkadians; in the attack on Mykenai Tegea helped Argos.⁸ At Dipaia the Argives left the Arkadians to suffer alone; the war with Tiryns began when the *douloi* were incited by an Arkadian seer, Kleandros of Phigaleia, to attack 'their masters'.⁹ Each pair belongs to a different phase between which the attitude of Argos and Arkadia to each other has changed. The position becomes even clearer when we consider the behaviour of Kleonai. Kleonai, like Tegea, joined with Argos in the attack on Mykenai.¹⁰ But, when Mykenai fell, Kleonai accepted some of the Mycenaean

but did not capture Tegea if Simonides fr. 122 refers to this occasion (as I believe it must). Polyainos' anecdote of Kleandridas' capture of the town (2. 10. 3) must then refer to a later occasion, presumably after Dipaia, at which the Tegeates fought and were again defeated (Hdt. loc. cit). Andrewes's dating of Kleandridas' exploit (p. 4) is therefore irrelevant. It may be added that if Simonides 122 is in fact by Simonides the battle must be dated before his death in 468 (Marm. Par. F.G.H. 239 A ep. 57). It has, of course, been ascribed to other battles (Boas, *de Epig. Simon.* 216 ff.) and other poets. But it fits this context, and, as far as I can see, what we know of Simonides' style. Cf. below, p. 235.

¹ Hdt. loc. cit.

² There is no suggestion of a chronological order either in Paus. 5. 23. 3. or 8. 27. 1.

³ e.g. by Andrewes, p. 5.

⁴ D.S. 11. 65.

⁵ Polemon E', pp. 62-67; Mitsos, 'Επετ. τῆς 'Ερασιπίας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν KI' (1953), pp. 150-1. No photograph is available, but from the drawing I should judge this to be the date.

⁶ It would be odd outside the great international sanctuaries for a local to draw attention to his nationality.

⁷ Paus. 2. 17. 5; cf. Demetrios, F.G.H. 304 fr. 1.

⁸ Strabo, p. 377.

⁹ Hdt. 6. 83. To turn Kleandros into a Spartan agent (with Seymour, art. cit.) is absurd. That he was putting into effect official Arkadian policy is a conjecture, but not an improbable one.

¹⁰ Strabo, loc. cit.

refugees.¹ A change in the policy of Argos would explain admirably the altered attitude of Tegea and Kleonai.² Moreover, we can now date this change firmly to some time during the siege of Mykenai.

To sum up: the battle of Tegea and the attack on Mykenai belong to the same phase of Peloponnesian politics; the revolt of the *douloi* from Tiryns, the fall of Mykenai, and the battle of Dipaia belong to a different, later phase. Between these phases something has happened to alter the attitude of Argos (and incidentally that of Mantinea).

By 465/464 phase two has certainly been reached, in 470 with the creation of Themistokles' anti-Spartan alliance we have at any rate the makings of phase one. At what point between these two dates does the change come and what exactly was it?

Diodoros³ dates the campaign against Mykenai to 468/467, but at the same time he attaches it firmly to his story of the Helot revolt. The Spartans were unable to help Mykenai *διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους πολέμους καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν σεισμῶν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφορὰν*. Andrewes rightly ignores the date but leans heavily on the synchronism in assigning the campaign to the mid-sixties.⁴ I do not altogether share his confidence for I am not certain that Diodoros' source (Ephoros we presume) would be incapable of inventing the synchronism in order to explain the Spartan failure to help, or, alternatively, of inferring the explanation from a firm date for Mykenai (468/467) and the early date for the earthquake (469/468), in which he probably believed. However, we must recognize the possibility that some perhaps fairly reputable authority did believe in the synchronism. It would hardly be profitable to discuss here the basis for this belief but it is at least possible that the story could have been derived from one of two pieces of information which could have been correct:

- (1) that Mykenai *fell* because the Spartans were occupied by the Helot revolt (no authority gives the length of the siege and the fact that Diodoros sets his whole account in one year is not evidence; it may be significant that it is only when he reaches the moment of the capture that Diodoros produces his precise reasons);
- (2) that Mykenai was attacked because Sparta was in trouble with her *ἴδιοι πόλεμοι* (the war with the Arkadians which included the battle of Tegea) and fell because she was still occupied with these same Arkadians (Dipaia) and, in addition, *ἡ ἐκ τῶν σεισμῶν γενομένη συμφορὰ*.

¹ Paus. 7. 25. 6.

² By the time of Tanagra Kleonai is again with Argos (Paus. 1. 29. 7), but by then Argos has returned to her democratic ways and democratic friends; cf. below, p. 240. About this time or earlier Korinth had trouble both with Argos and Kleonai (Plut. *Kim.* 17; *D.G.E.E.P.* 80). This incident could be ascribed to the period of co-operation which led to the attack on Mykenai. Note that the Argives dedicate in Olympia (Elis was an ally) not in Delphi (above, p. 227).

³ 11. 65.

⁴ Andrewes and the majority of modern historians, assume that the revolt began in

465/464 and ended c. 460. In this article I have accepted this date although I am by no means convinced that they are right (cf. N. G. L. Hammond's ingenious defence of the earlier dating, *Historia*, iv [1955], 371-81, and the works cited by him, p. 371, n. 2). It will be obvious, however, that my version of events in the northern Peloponnese could easily be adjusted to fit the earlier dating.

The even later date for Mykenai (post c. 460) proposed by Kolbe (*Hermes*, lxxii [1937], 254-63) is very improbable. At any rate by the time of Tanagra Kleonai is again with Argos.

In short I do not think that the evidence of Diodoros tells seriously against the following order of events:

- by c. 470 Formation of anti-Spartan, democratic League in the northern Peloponnese, including Argos (with Kleonai), Arkadia (with both Tegea and Mantinea), and Elis.
- c. 469 First operations of the League: attack on Mykenai and battle of Tegea.
- c. 468 Change in Argos (and perhaps at the same time in Mantinea).
- c. 466 Revolt of Tiryns with Arkadian support against Argos.
- 465/464 Helot revolt; battle of Dipaia against depleted anti-Spartan League; capture of Mykenai. Capture of Tiryns by Argos.

The answer to the second question, the nature of the change which took Argos out of the alliance, is now clear. It must be the expulsion of the *douloi* which, as we have seen, should belong to these same years and would produce just such a reversal in Argive foreign policy as we have had to postulate¹ and would, of course, explain why the Arkadians when planning to reopen the attack on Sparta should incite their old allies, the *douloi*, to engage Argos' attention from Tiryns. But this was later. At the time the expulsion would also produce a crisis in the alliance. It is reasonable to suppose that Mantinea with Argive support withdrawn now lost its democracy or at least its enthusiasm and that other cities of Arkadia began to reconsider their position. Pindar's sixth Olympian, I would suggest, is the mark of such re-thinking in one of these cities, Stymphalos, where the ode was performed in summer 468.² Wilamowitz³ saw in the second triad an attempt to conciliate Sparta after the defeats at Tegea and Dipaia. Tegea, in the year before, may well have played its part, but there would be all the more need for conciliation if Stymphalos at the time could see the alliance, in which she had felt secure, crumbling to pieces about her. Thus we may be even more precise about the date. The *douloi* were expelled in winter 469 or spring 468.

ATHENS, 508-465

In this moment of crisis we have, I believe, the explanation of Themistokles' flight. We must now consider the reason for the condemnation which immediately preceded it (i.e. in winter 469/468) and look for confirmation of the date.

Athenian politicians of the early fifth century can be divided into two groups, most easily distinguished by their foreign policy, the one pro- the other anti-Spartan. But this was not the most important difference, which is one not easy to define, for until 462 it remained a difference of attitude, not of policy. Only then can we see the distinction in sharp political terms—who was for and who against the Areopagos?⁴ But the quarrel in 462 looked back to 508. Those who

¹ There is no reason to suppose that Argive aristocrats were less interested than their opponents in controlling the Argolid. Hence the continuation of the campaign against Mykenai without allied support. It could be that Sparta offered them a free hand against Mykenai in exchange for their defection. The *ἱδοί πολέμοι* need be no more than an excuse.

² For the date, Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, pp. 307 ff. and cf., e.g., Andrewes, p. 1.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ The change in the archonship in 487 was also, no doubt, an issue but its purpose and authorship are too unclear to allow interpretation of the kind we need.

were against believed in the Kleisthenic constitution and regarded the Areopagos as an aristocratic anomaly, those who were for no doubt accepted the Kleisthenic constitution, because they had to, but wanted to retain whatever they could of the old order; the former were *consciously* democrats, the latter lived under a democracy but thought as aristocrats.

To make this clearer we must go back to the years 508-480. In particular it is necessary to challenge two assumptions which are often made in discussions of this period,¹ first that Xanthippos, Perikles' father, was an Alkmeonid, second that the Alkmeonids were democrats. For the second most of the evidence results from acceptance of the first. For the first there is no evidence whatsoever. It is true that Xanthippos married an Alkmeonid,² but the same is true of Peisistratos and Kimon. This shows that at the time of the marriage³ Xanthippos was, or was expected to be, a political ally of the Alkmeonids; it does not show that he remained one, and there are, in fact, several indications that he did not. The most conclusive is the evidence of the *Ath. Pol.*⁴ on the ostracisms that followed Marathon. There Xanthippos is explicitly distinguished from Megakles, the known Alkmeonid victim;⁵ the latter is φίλος τῶν τυράννων, the former πρῶτος τῶν ἀπῶθεν τῆς τυραννίδος. That the Alkmeonids should have been strong enough after their disgrace at Marathon⁶ to prosecute successfully the hero of the battle, Miltiades, is almost inconceivable. Yet Xanthippos does,⁷ another clear indication that he is independent. But, if Xanthippos stands apart from the family, so may his son. As far as I know there is no Alkmeonid among Perikles' friends and the only recorded contact between him and his relatives is his attendance at the wedding of Eurypolemos, where, significantly enough, he did not even wait for the reception.⁸ Alkmeonid blood of course was a dangerous thing, the curse of Kylon could always be remembered (as it was in 431 and perhaps c. 460⁹) and I suspect that Perikles' Alkmeonid connexion was more emphasized by his opponents than by himself or his friends. Be that as it may, the hatred of the Alkmeonids for Themistokles is no reason for separating Perikles from Themistokles. As Jacoby points out,¹⁰ Perikles inherited many of Themistokles' ideas, and much of his policy,

¹ Cf., e.g., Robinson, *A.J.P.* ix (1939), 232 ff., and lxvi (1945), 243 ff.; M. McGregor, *H.S.C.P. Supp.* I (1940), 71 ff.

² Hdt. 6. 131; Plut. *Per.* 3. 2.

³ Between 510 and 490, the upper limit fixed by the birth of Agariste's father, Hippokrates, which must be c. 560 and may perhaps be more accurately dated to the year of the Alkmeonid reconciliation with Peisistratos (son of Hippokrates), i.e. to the early fifties. He might then have a marriageable daughter c. 510. The lower limit depends on the date of Perikles' birth, which must be somewhere in the nineties. I should like to place the marriage in 508—one part of Kleisthenes' attempt προσηραρίσθαι τὸν δῆμον (through its leaders).

⁴ 22. 6.

⁵ Another possible Alkmeonid, Hippokrates son of Anaxileos, may have been the victim in 485 (484, Raubitschek, *Historia*, viii [1959], 127-8); see Vanderpool, *Hesperia*,

xxii (1952), p. 8. At any rate a third Alkmeonid, Kallixenos, was a strongly favoured candidate in the late eighties (Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, xix [1950], 376 ff.).

⁶ The discovery of the ostrakon which adds the description προδότης to the name Kallixenos (Vanderpool, loc. cit.) shows that the story of the shield signal was not a later invention to discredit Perikles. Thus Alkmeonid policy in the nineties had been at least sufficiently equivocal to make the charge of Medism appear credible.

⁷ Hdt. 6. 136.

⁸ Plut. *Per.* 7. 5.

⁹ For the curse, Williams, *Hermathena*, lxxviii-ix (1951-2); for its application c. 460 K. J. Dover, *J.H.S.* lxxvii (1957), 236 (though I do not agree that it was ever formally withdrawn (cf. *B.C.H.* lxxx [1956], 49 ff.)).

¹⁰ *F.G.H.* 3 Teil B (Supplement) ii. 123 and 387.

and this was surely the result of personal contact and collaboration in Perikles' youth.

To turn to the second assumption, that the Alkmeonids were the leading 'democrats' from 508 onwards. Such evidence as there is for this comes, as we have seen, from the part played by Xanthippos in the nineties and eighties and from nothing else. No Alkmeonid does anything even faintly democratic after the disappearance of Kleisthenes, and, for what it is worth, it is Xanthippos not Megakles who is named in the *Ath. Pol.* as *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* in the nineties.¹ How or when they lost popular support is not clear. It was at least as early as the visit of Aristagoras but may well have been earlier. If they were responsible for the oracle of c. 505 which tried to discourage the attack on Aigina, defeat on this issue may have ended any supremacy that they had (even in 508 they failed to carry the *demos* with them in their approach to Persia²).³ At any rate the election of a Philaid archon, Akestorides, in 504 implies that they had for the moment lost popular favour.⁴ The theory of an untroubled decade of democratic Alkmeonid rule is a myth.

The reforms of 508 were the result of an Alkmeonid attempt to increase their personal *clientela*, to add the *demos* to their *ἐταρτεία*. The attempt shows an awareness that the nature of the political game had changed since 546 (for the *demos* had not previously been an element in dynastic politics),⁵ but it also shows a failure to understand the significance or extent of the change (for by making their concessions they created a constitution in which the *clientela* would soon become meaningless: the *demos* does not need a permanent *patronus*). The Alkmeonids, I imagine, were surprised by the effects of their own reforms and shocked by popular disloyalty (perhaps in 505, certainly in 499); still thinking in the old terms (of which 'loyalty' was one), still playing the game, so far as it was possible, according to the old rules, they looked round for new *amici*. First they tried the Peisistratids; then, when the resultant policy of appeasing Persia failed so disastrously at Marathon, they turned to those other aristocrats who were equally puzzled by Kleisthenic democracy, to men like Kimon, and they cemented their alliances in the old way, by marriage. With them, for a time, they seemed safe, and even successful, until the reforms of Ephialtes removed even the possibility of pretending that things could ever be as they had been before their blunder of 508. But before 462 they were still a force in politics, the Alkmeonids, Kimon, Melesias, and, we must suppose, the mass of the Athenian aristocracy. With them stood Pindar, friend of Megakles,⁶ friend of Melesias,⁷ friend of the Aiginetan aristocrats whom Alkmeonids may have tried to save,⁸ and, we may add, friend of Theaios and the Epigonoι of Argos.⁹

¹ 28. 2.

² Hdt. 5. 73 (certainly Kleisthenes' idea).

³ The oracle is not necessarily *post eventum* (cf. C.R., n.s. viii [1958], 123). If Delphi did not feel strong enough to forbid the attack, she could at least suggest postponement, which would amount to the same thing. There is, of course, no more evidence for Alkmeonid interference on this issue than the well-known connexion of the clan with the sanctuary.

⁴ The name betrays his origin (Pherekydes F.G.H. 3 F 2). The only alternative would be to suppose that the alliance with the Philaids came much earlier than one imagines (and

this would hardly be a democratic move). The earliest certain instance of collaboration is the prosecution of Them. by Leobotes (Plut. Them. 23. 1, Mor. 605 e; Krateros, F.G.H. 342 fig. 11), but Kimon's marriage to Isodike is probably earlier, about 480 (Hignett, H.A.C., p. 396).

⁵ For the nature of the change: Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants*, pp. 113-15.

⁶ Pyth. 7.

⁷ Wade-Gery, art. cit., pp. 208-11 (E.G.H. 243-7).

⁸ See above. Cf. Wade-Gery, loc. cit.

⁹ Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 27. 3) illustrates well

But there were inside the Alkmeonid faction of 508 men who did realize that the rules had changed and were prepared to play according to the new rules, Xanthippos and Aristides, later to be joined by Themistokles.¹ That these three were consciously democrats I have no doubt, but it is less easy to be certain about their personal relationships or even their political relationships on matters other than the issue of democracy versus aristocracy. One may argue back from Perikles to Xanthippos and suppose that in general he and Themistokles acted together, but this is no more than a guess. The case of Aristides is even more difficult and, for us, much more important. To later authorities the contrast between the just Aristides and the wicked Themistokles offered too good a chance for the invention of suitable illustrations and it is now impossible to distinguish the genuine from the false. The few examples of collaboration between the two, especially on the building of the walls in 479;² the coupling of them by Aristotle;³ the fact that they disappear together (both perhaps in disgrace);⁴ that they are both praised by Aeschylus;⁵ all these seem to me more significant than the evidence for their disagreement, and I share Jacoby's view that they were political friends, though they may well have had personal and certainly had some political differences.⁶ But this must remain a matter of opinion.

These men too had their poets, Simonides, Phrynichus, and Aeschylus. Simonides, who, it seems, had little respect for noble birth,⁷ was a friend of Themistokles and probably supported his Peloponnesian adventures.⁸ The only convincing explanation I have seen of the circumstances and purpose of Phrynichus' *Sack of Miletos* is that it was suggested or at least supported by Themistokles in an attempt to shame the Athenians out of their appeasement policy of the mid-nineties.⁹ The connexion between the two men continued, for Themistokles was *choregos* for the production of another work by Phrynichos in 476,¹⁰ often said to be the *Phoenissae*, a play which would be well suited to

the aristocratic thinking of these men. When seeking popularity Perikles bribes the whole people, Kimon entertains his demesmen—he is still the local dynast, not the class politician.

¹ For Aristides, Plut. *Mor.* 790 f., *Arist.* 2. 1.

² Thuc. 1. 90–93, etc.

³ *Ath. Pol.* 28. 2. c. 41 puts Aristides firmly behind Ephialtes.

⁴ See below, p. 239, n. 2.

⁵ Below, p. 236. For Aristides, Plut. *Arist.* 3–5.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 95. One can hardly doubt that Aristides' ostracism was the result of his opposition to Themistokles' naval programme.

⁷ Aristotle, fr. 83. On Simonides' politics cf. Bowra, *G.L.P.*, p. 369.

⁸ Plut. *Them.* 1; cf. *ibid.* 5 and Cic. *de Fin.* 2. 32. For Simonides' sympathy with the democratic alliance cf. the Tegean epigram (fr. 122) discussed above, p. 229, n. 12. The second epigram on Tegea (fr. 123) would tie him even more securely to Themistokles, for the *lemma* records that it was composed *eis*

τοὺς ἐν Τεγῇ πεδούρας ἀριστοὺς Ἀθηναίων. Andrewes dismisses this too lightly (art. cit., p. 4). The *lemma* itself is improbable enough to be true. Unfortunately the poem is more vulnerable (cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *J.H.S.* liii [1933], 81–82), but, if it is genuine, we must suppose that other Athenians shared Themistokles' views and were prepared to serve the alliance as volunteers.

For a study of what may be Simonides' most directly political poem see Bowra, *C.Q.*, n.s. viii (1958), 231–40. Unfortunately the circumstances of its composition are too uncertain to throw any light on Simonides' views. It is worth noting, though, that his use of the word *ἐθνομία* is no indication of aristocratic sympathies (cf. Bowra, art. cit., p. 239, and the excellent remarks of Dover on similar value words, *J.H.S.* lxxvii [1957], 233).

⁹ *C.A.H.* iv. 172.

¹⁰ Plut. *Them.* 5. It seems unlikely that chance brought poet and patron together. *Choregoi* were appointed, not chosen by lot (*Ath. Pol.* 56), and could even volunteer for service (*Lysias* 21. 1–5). The method of

Themistokles' purposes at the time (whether produced in this or a neighbouring year).¹

That Aeschylus was concerned with contemporary politics, that he was prepared to use his plays as vehicles of propaganda on specific political issues, can hardly be doubted. In the *Persae* he glorified the Athenian achievements at Salamis at a time when Salamis in a sense was still a political issue;² in the *Supplikes* he writes of refugees in Argos at a time when the most important political figure of Athens had himself been a refugee in Argos;³ in the *Eumenides* he is concerned with the constitution of the court of the Areopagos long before Athens had settled down to a quiet acceptance of what Ephialtes had done in 462.⁴ It is inconceivable that all this should be mere coincidence, and, if it is not, there can be no doubt where Aeschylus' sympathies lay. Themistokles is directly praised in the *Persae*;⁵ Themistokles was the refugee of 470; Themistokles' successor, Perikles, who had already been *choregos* for the *Persae*,⁶ shared with Ephialtes the responsibility for the measures of 462 and for the alliance with Argos, both of which Aeschylus certainly favours in the play.⁷

The struggle of the late seventies, like that of the late sixties, was between these two groups, but the only issue, as far as we know, was one of foreign not domestic policy. Who was the enemy, Sparta or Persia? Themistokles was ostracized partly because the Athenians could not be convinced of the danger from Sparta on which he had been insisting ever since the defeat of Persia, partly because his enemies were able to misrepresent his anti-Spartan negotiations with states like Argos as a treacherous unpatriotic desertion to the Medizers of 480 (unlike the gallant Kimon who remained loyal to the tradition of Salamis), partly because of the growing popularity of Kimon as victory followed victory in the Aegean and even famines were cured by his glorious campaigns,⁸ and partly because the Athenians were simply fed up with the sound of his voice.⁹ His fear of Sparta was not ill grounded; in 479 they had tried to prevent the refortification of Athens;¹⁰ not long afterwards they had

assigning them a poet is unknown, but it is possible that they chose for themselves, the order of choice being settled by lot (see for example, A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, pp. 75-79 and 89 ff.).

¹ That the play was the *Phoenissae* is no more than a conjecture. See further below, p. 237.

² See below, pp. 237 f.

³ See below, pp. 239 f. In a recent paper (*J.H.S.* lxxvii [1957], 220 ff.) Mr. A. Diamantopoulos has already argued that the play represents a Themistoklean view of politics. Some of what Mr. Diamantopoulos says is persuasive but his analysis as a whole is spoiled by his belief in what must now be regarded as an impossible date for the play (see below, p. 239, n. 6) and I shall not therefore examine his arguments in detail.

Briefly: he distinguishes two 'themes' and four 'topics' in the play. These are: (1) friendship of Athens with Argos, (2) the suppliant theme, (3) the seniority of Argos over Sparta, (4) the consequences of defeat at Sepeia, (5) pre-Dorian Argos, (6) Argive

democracy. Assuming that he is right, I feel that 1, 2, and 6 would be, in fact, more relevant in 463 than in 493; that 3 would be equally relevant, 4 rather less so (but not by any means out of place in a context in which the relations between the *douloi* and the *Epigono*i were still an issue), while of 5 the relevance escapes me both in 493 and in 463.

⁴ There were still at the time of Tanagra men who were prepared to betray Athens in order to overthrow the new constitution; (*Thuc.* 1. 107).

⁵ vv. 353-64.

⁶ *I.G.* ii². 2318.

⁷ Professor Dover's study (*J.H.S.* lxxvii [1957], 239 ff.) should settle this question for good; Aeschylus' language on the domestic issue is (for us) neutral (so Dover but cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *E.G.H.*, pp. 176 and 180-97) but his attitude on other issues compels us to interpret it as pro-democratic.

⁸ Schol. *Aristid.* xlv. iii, 688.

⁹ *Plut. Them.* 22.

¹⁰ *Thuc.* 1. 90-92.

almost voted for war to regain their abandoned hegemony;¹ in 465, if the story is true, they promised to invade Attika on behalf of the Thasians.² Themistokles was undoubtedly right, but the Athenians, blinded by the glamour of the anti-Persian crusade, could not see it and it is against this background that we must interpret the *Persae* and, at a guess, the *Phoenissae*. In the circumstances the best that Themistokles (and his friends) could do was to remind the Athenians that, when it was necessary, he had done more than anyone to defeat the Persians, that to abandon interest in Persia when Persia was no longer the real danger was common sense, not Medism; a poor argument to set against the *πομπαὶ λαμπραὶ* and the *θυσίαι* that attended Kimon's return from Skyros.³ It was small consolation that Simonides could help to rob the Alkmeonids of the credit for 510.⁴

Themistokles, then, was ostracized; a year or two later, he was condemned or, at any rate, was so afraid of condemnation that he fled.⁵ Why? The charge was, or was to be, medism and was based on evidence which the Spartans claimed to have discovered during their investigations of Pausanias' activities. As we have seen the charge was perhaps not a new one; the *Persae* and even the *Phoenissae* may have been answers to it. But most historians have assumed that the evidence was new, that there was a close chronological connexion between Pausanias' death and Themistokles' flight. There is no justification for this assumption. On any reasonable interpretation of the evidence we should suppose that Pausanias was dead long before 469/468, hardly later, indeed, than about 473, and most of those who argue for a later date would be prepared to admit that they are straining the evidence in order to preserve the link with Themistokles. Thucydides' brief account certainly suggests at first sight that the Spartan embassy came immediately,⁶ but does not explicitly state it; Ephoros, through Diodoros, marks a considerable interval by introducing the story of an earlier trial of Themistokles on the same charge.⁷ Only Plutarch keeps Pausanias alive when Themistokles is in Argos, but this in a chapter (23) which appears to be an extraordinary muddle of Thucydides, Ephoros (?), Krateros, and no doubt others as well. What are the 'earlier accusations' to which Themistokles replies by letter? the charges brought by Leobotes? If they were, what was the result? If acquittal we should not have Leobotes' name; if conviction, what need of further prosecution? But if they were not, where does Leobotes' prosecution fit in? Could an *εἰσαγγελία* lead to reference to another court (*ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν*)? I should hesitate to disbelieve even Ephoros on the strength of evidence like this.

¹ D.S. 11. 50.

² Thuc. 1. 101.

³ Plut. *Thes.* 36. 3.

⁴ Simonides, fr. 76 (A.L.G.²). The development of the story of the tyrannicides is a good example of an unreal puzzle set by belief in democratic Alkmeonids and an Alkmeonid Perikles (cf., e.g., Bowra, *G.L.P.*, p. 416, and Jacoby, *Atthis*, pp. 158 ff. with nn.). The Gephyraian version was anti-Alkmeonid. Why then was it accepted by democratic Athens as early as 477 and sanctified by Perikles himself later (*I.G.* i. 2 77)? If, on the other hand, we believe that the Alkmeonids were anti-democratic by 500 (above, p. 233 f.), the setting-up of the statues in 477 (by Themistokles?) and the decree make perfect

sense. As Themistokles may thus have tried to direct Athenian attention from 510 to 514, so Kimon would insist on 490 not 480; Marathon, not Salamis, was the great victory, Miltiades, not Themistokles, the hero (P. Amandry, *Θεωρία* [*Festschr. Schuchhardt*, 1960], pp. 1 ff.).

⁵ It is not clear that he was condemned before he fled. Diodoros (11. 55) and Plut. (*Them.* 23) talk of a future trial *ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν* and Thuc. (1. 135. 2) is quite consistent with this. No doubt he was condemned at some time, and in Athens, not an international court (Krateros, *F.G.H.* 342 F 11), but it may have been after his flight.

⁶ 135. 1-2.

⁷ D.S. 11. 54.

In short, the probability is that Pausanias died about 474/473 and that there was a delay of some four or five years before action was taken against Themistokles.¹ Nor is such a delay odd unless the evidence 'discovered' by the Spartans was genuine. Few, I think, will believe that it was.² Righteous horror may provoke immediate action; a fabricated charge is more likely to be produced (a) when the material for fabrication is to hand (as it was at any time after Pausanias' death), (b) when there is some real purpose for it (as there was especially after Themistokles' activities in Argos had led to the formation of the League and perhaps even to action by the League, i.e. in 469), and (c) when the purpose is likely to be effected by it. After, say, 473 the Spartans had the means; after, say, 470 they had the motive; when did they find the opportunity and what was it? The charge, in general terms at least, was probably not new; the evidence may not have been new either. The production of such evidence from known enemies of Themistokles would not convince either Themistokles' friends or indeed any reasonable Athenian—unless for a moment he lost his reason as men sometimes do in a moment of fear or a moment of elation. As far as we know there was no cause for fear (Pausanias, after all, was dead), but, precisely in 469,³ Athens and Kimon won their greatest triumph at the Eurymedon. This is surely the occasion we are looking for. Here was the final justification of Kimon's policy of the seventies; Salamis and Plataia rolled into one and greater than both.⁴ No Athenian, whatever his politics, could fail to be moved;⁵ many, I imagine, would lose their heads. For them, in the exaltation of Kimon's return (in winter 469/468?) Kimon could do no wrong and if Kimon said that Themistokles was a traitor, Themistokles was a traitor; if Kimon said that he had evidence, he had evidence. Themistokles was chased from the Peloponnese and thence from Greece.

Between 484 and 458 Aeschylus won thirteen dramatic victories.⁶ Since he probably did not compete more than about fifteen times in these years,⁷ there is a good chance that in 468 he had behind him an unbroken line of eight or nine successes. All the more surprising that at the Dionysia of that year he should have come second to the inexperienced Sophokles; but less surprising when we remember the political context, and, above all, the name of the judge.⁸ For this was the contest at which Kimon and his fellow generals of the Eurymedon campaign were chosen by the archon to award the prize. Kimon, it seems, could be vindictive. The same vindictiveness appears in his condemnation of Epikrates for assisting Themistokles in his flight,⁹ and we might ascribe

¹ Unless, of course, we believe in the earlier trial. Thuc. certainly seems to imply that the Spartans made their first moves when Them. was already in Argos, but it is possible that he has omitted the earlier unsuccessful action.

² The case against Pausanias was murky enough (contrast Thucydides' certainty (1. 128-34) with Herodotus' doubts (8.3)). As for Them., not all the ancient sources are as outspoken as the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Equites* 84), who speaks of an *alria pseudēs*, but none of the others, except the muddled Plut., speaks of incriminating letters as a fact and even he regards them as justifying no more than *επιτομία* while only a few lines

above he has made Them. reject Pausanias' advances.

³ For the date, *A.T.L.* iii. 160.

⁴ Plut. *Kimon*, 13. 3.

⁵ Simonides, fr. 103 (*A.L.G.*²), vv. 1-4, may be by Simonides though I doubt it (cf. Gomme, *H.C.T.* i. 288 f.). Even he might approve of the victory, though not, I suspect, of these verses.

⁶ *Vita Aesch.* with Marm. Par. ep. 50.

⁷ Suidas, s.v. *Αἰσχύλος*, gives a total of ninety plays; thus about twenty-two sets of four were produced between 499 (Suidas, loc. cit.) and 458 (*Vita*).

⁸ Plut. *Kimon* 8.

⁹ Plut. *Them.* 24. 6.

to this same period of mopping-up his decree against Arthmios of Zeleia, on a charge of bringing Persian gold into the Peloponnese (i.e. to Argos).¹ Even Aristides may not have escaped for, in one account, he too was condemned about this time and went into exile, like Themistokles, in Ionia, where he died.²

In the Peloponnese Sparta was given the necessary breathing space. The grand alliance had taken the offensive by attacking Mykenai, outpost of Sparta's league in their rear, but their enthusiasm was checked by the defeat before Tegea and broken by the news of Eurymedon, and, we may guess, by the threat of consequent Athenian intervention in the Peloponnese on the side of Sparta. In Argos the democrats were exiled and both Argos and Mantinea deserted to Sparta or at least proclaimed their neutrality. Of the Arkadians some, like the Stymphalians, hesitated, but in the end all fought on, helped for a time by their old friends the exiled Argive democrats, who attacked Argos in the rear from Tiryns. But even with the added disaster of the earthquake Sparta was still a match for them, as Dipaia showed. But it was a near thing and in the end only the help of Athens, Kimonian Athens, pulled Sparta through. So near had Themistokles brought Athens to winning the Peloponnesian War.

Within eight years the Athenians had realized their ghastly mistake and were engaged again upon a Themistoklean policy. The continuity is sometimes ignored. By 432 Themistokles was again a hero in Athens,³ and this was not, I think, the result of any artificial rehabilitation, but rather the natural outcome of the return to power of Perikles and his friends who had held this view, unshaken, throughout. The party which attacked the Areopagos in 462 was the same as that which was defeated in 469. Unfortunately only Aeschylus offers any direct evidence for the connexion, but it is, in a sense, new evidence and worth consideration.

Some years ago Cavaignac pointed out how closely the position of the Danaids in the *Suppliants* resembled that of Themistokles in 470/469 and suggested that the date of the play should be lowered accordingly.⁴ The suggestion was not accepted,⁵ but the publication of P. Oxy. 2265 has now shown that a date after 467 is, in fact, inescapable and that the play was, in all probability, performed at the Dionysia of 463.⁶ Its theme is the dilemma of Argos—should she accept a suppliant even at the risk of war? In 470 Argos had been faced with just this dilemma and had answered it, as she does in the play, by accepting the suppliant and by risking war, with Sparta certainly and perhaps, as it then seemed, with Kimonian Athens as well. This, it seems to me, puts it beyond all possible doubt that the *Suppliants* was a political play.⁷ As the *Persae*,

¹ For a discussion of the evidence and possible dates see M. Cary, *C.Q.* xxix (1935), 177 ff. Alternatively the decree could be earlier, an attempt to make the charge of medism stick while Them. was still in Argos.

² Krateros, *F.G.H.* 342 F 12. The story is unsupported and Krateros quotes no evidence, but it is as plausible as any other account of Aristides' death and, for all we know, may be true (but see Jacoby's severe comments (*Commentary*, ad loc.)).

³ Thuc. i. 74. 1; cf. *Ar. Eq.* 812 ff., Plut. *Lys.* 14, Plato, *Meno* 93 b.

⁴ *Rev. Phil.* xlv (1921), 102-6.

⁵ Cf. Schmid-Stählin, *G.L.G.* i. 2, 194 n. 2.

⁶ So A. Lesky, *Hermes*, lxxxi (1954), 1-13. Other years after 467 remain possible but the odds are in favour of 'Ενὶ Ἀρ[χιδημιδίου] rather than 'Ενὶ Ἀρ[χιδημιδίου]. Some years ago E. C. Yorke (*C.Q.* xxx [1936], 117) produced stylistic reasons for a date between the *Persae* and the *Septem* and it is possible that the play was written (in part, at any rate) before Themistokles fled—the lines in praise of Argos have (for me) the air of a spontaneous outburst rather than a calculated recollection—but this is irrelevant to the main point and, of course, unarguable.

⁷ Not, of course, a political masquerade

relevant in the politics of 472, looked back to 480, and the *Eumenides*, relevant to the politics of 458, looked back to 462, so the *Suppliants* in 463 directs Athenian attention back to 470/469. The praise of democratic Argos in lines 605-24, which is totally irrelevant in any mythological situation, completely relevant in the sixties of the fifth century, shows us more clearly than anything else the gratitude of Aeschylus and the other radicals to Argos for her acceptance of and support for Themistokles. To adapt the words used by Professor Dover of the *Eumenides*,¹ the note is one of assurance; Argos was prepared to fight the right wars, with the right allies, and had the right constitution. Or rather, Argos had been prepared to fight the right wars and had had the right constitution. And here is the problem. Why, in 463, should Aeschylus remind the Athenians of the alliance which had failed and of the democracy which had been destroyed?

There is no certain answer. But 465 was almost as disastrous a year for Kimon and his friends as 469 had been for Themistokles; the Spartans were struck first by the earthquake, then by the helot revolt; in Athens Kimon must have been held responsible, however unjustly, for the disaster at Drabeskos. From then must date the recovery of the Athenian democrats.² In 462 they opposed Kimon's proposal to help Sparta and, since the Argive alliance was concluded soon after Kimon's failure, we may reasonably suppose that it was already being advanced as an alternative.³ Can we conjecture, on the strength of the *Suppliants*, that it was already public democratic policy in 463 or rather in late 464, that the play was planned and written to commend it?⁴ If so, it would follow either that the Epigonoi had themselves been ejected by winter 464 or at any rate that they had been forced completely to reverse their policy of 469/468, to adopt the line which had been followed by their victims. The latest evidence for the survival of the aristocrats at Argos was for spring 464.⁵ They would then have lost control or changed their minds some time during the summer of that year, no doubt as a result of Sparta's other preoccupations at the time.

The *Suppliants* won the first prize.⁶ If this is an indication of the temper of Athens at the time, many were beginning to repent of their stupidity (though not enough to prevent the final act of folly in 463/462). The uncritical worship of Kimon had lasted at the most five years, but that was enough to give Sparta the necessary breathing space, enough to impose on Athens later two long and ultimately disastrous wars, the first without Arkadia, the second for the most part without Argos or Arkadia, both without her ablest politician of the century.

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(cf. G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides*, esp. pp. 78-81)—Danaos and his daughters are faced with Themistokles' problem but they do not, in any real sense, represent Themistokles. Even so one might expect to find in some lines direct comments on some aspects of Themistokles' position, even if irrelevant to the main theme. But we know too little of the situation at the time of the production or in 470/469, and of the content of the other two plays of the trilogy which might give relevance to what now seems

irrelevant and therefore potentially topical, to make the search for these a profitable game.

¹ Loc. cit., p. 235.

² Cf. F. Jacoby, *J.H.S.* lxiv (1944), 51-53.

³ Thuc. i. 102. 4 may suggest that Argos was already at war with Sparta when the Athenian alliance was concluded (cf. Gomme, ad loc.).

⁴ To return (almost) to an old suggestion (Müller, *Eumenides*, pp. 118 ff.).

⁵ Above, pp. 228-9.

⁶ P. Oxy. 2265. 3.

Additional note: I have deliberately ignored all but one (above, pp. 237-8) of the usual issues of Themistoklean chronology. From the reconstruction which I have suggested it would follow:

- (a) that the evidence of Cicero (*Brut.* 10. 42) must be ignored.
- (b) that the evidence of Nepos (*Arist.* 3) may be correct if he refers to the ostracism (as, strictly, he seems to) and if Aristides died c. 467/466.
- (c) that Diodoros (11. 55) is dating the ostracism, if anything, to 471/470, i.e. to spring 470 (so, e.g., Beloch, *G.G.* ii. 2. 192-3, Cary, *C.R.* xxxvi [1922], 161 ff.).
- (d) that we must either read *Θάσος* for *Νάξος* in Thuc. 1. 137. 2 or assume that Thuc. is wrong (so, e.g. R. Flacelière, *R.E.A.* lv [1953], 5-28; E. Cavaignac, *Nouvelle Clío*, vii-ix [1955-7], 123-5).
- (e) that there was a considerable delay between his flight from the Peloponnese and his arrival at Pydna (some two years at the least—the revolt of Thasos could have begun in 466—spent wandering in northern Greece or with the Corcyreans and the Molossians). This seems to me no less likely nor less consistent with Thucydides than a similarly lengthy or indeed even longer period in Asia Minor, which is imposed by the reading *Νάξος*.

A NOTE ON ARISTOPHANES,

LYSISTRATA 665-70

THE possibility that the Greeks used heraldic symbols or blazons was first explored a long time ago.¹ The question has been revived recently by a French scholar in an article entitled 'Les "blazons" des villes grecques'.² It is of wide general interest, and of particular interest to numismatists who are concerned with the curious group of coins of Euboic standard bearing various simple devices (horse, horse protome and hindquarters, wheel, triskeles, beetle, gorgoneion, etc.), sometimes placed within what appears to be the circle of a shield. Various scholars, including C. T. Seltman,³ ascribed these coins to sixth-century Athens; Seltman's particular contribution⁴ to the problem of their identification consisted in the explanation of the diverse anepigraphic types of this group of coins as the 'heraldic' devices or blazons of the great *gene* or noble houses of early Athens. In particular he pointed out⁵ that the same devices appeared also in Attic black-figured vases on the shields of deities, heroes, and unidentified hoplites, and proposed the theory that the vase-painters were copying what they saw in the streets of Athens, namely the shield-devices of the men-at-arms of Athens' leading families. These devices, he maintained, were placed also on the coins issued by members of these same families. Seltman's theory did not command universal approbation⁶ when it was first published, and some aspects of it require further close examination. On the other hand, certain ideas expressed by him have been accepted almost universally,⁷ and one of these is the subject of the present discussion, intended to amplify points made by Lacroix⁸ in his brief examination of these 'heraldic' coins as part of his wider theme.

In seeking to sustain his theory from literary sources, Seltman⁹ made use of a passage of Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 665-70, and the scholia on it. He sought to show that there was in this passage a reference to a shield-blazon, that it was the blazon of the Alcmeonidae, and that it was in fact the *triskeles* (the familiar symbol of Sicily and the Isle of Man in later times), which appears on three rare specimens of the group of coins mentioned above.¹⁰

In this passage of the *Lysistrata* the half-chorus of Old Men cheer each other on to deal with the contumacious women who have seized the Acropolis:

ἀλλ' ἄγετε λευκόποδες, οἵπερ ἐπὶ Λευγύδριον ἤλθομεν ὅτ' ἦμεν ἔτι,
νῦν δ'εἰ νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι πάλιν κάναπτερώσαι
πάν τὸ σῶμα κάποσεισασθαι τὸ γῆρας τόδε.

665 λευκόποδες codd.: corr. Herm.

¹ G. H. Chace, 'The Shield Devices of the Greeks', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xiii (1902), 61 ff.

² Léon Lacroix, *Études d'archéologie classique* I (1955-6), Fac. des lettres, Univ. de Nancy (Paris, 1958), pp. 89-115. The article contains an excellent collection of references to 'blazons'.

³ C. T. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage* (Cambridge, 1924).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-84 *passim* for the parallels on Attic black-figured vases.

⁶ References most conveniently gathered by Lacroix, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-103.

⁷ Cf. Lacroix, p. 101, n. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-102.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁰ In fact (*op. cit.*, p. 21) he hedges: 'Fortunately it is known what were the arms—or at least one of the coats-of-arms—which the Alcmeonidae bore in the sixth century B.C. . . .

The metrical correspondence¹ (cf. line 690: νῦν πρὸς ἑμ' ἵτω τις, ἵνα μὴ ποτε φάγη σκόροδα, μηδὲ κυάμους μέλανας) rules out the λυκόποδες of the manuscripts and requires the generally accepted λευκόποδες. On the other hand, the Scholiast and lexicographers based almost all, if not quite all, their comment on the reading λυκόποδες. The scholia are here given after the edition of Gustav Stein, Diss. Göttingen, 1891:²

665 λυκόποδες. λυκόποδας ἐκάλουν, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης, τοὺς τῶν τυράννων δορυφόρους. τοὺς γὰρ ἀκμάζοντας τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος φυλακῇ ἔλαβον. λυκόποδες δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο, ὅτι διὰ παντὸς εἶχον τοὺς πόδας λύκων δέρμασι περικεκαλυμμένους, ὥστε μὴ ἐπικαίεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος. τινὲς δὲ λυκόποδας, 5 διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπίσημον λύκον. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη νῦν τοὺς λεγομένους Ἀλκμαιωνίδας. οὗτοι γὰρ πόλεμον ἀράμενοι πρὸς Ἰππίαν τὸν τύραννον καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας ἐτείχισαν (τὸ Λευψύδριον).

666 Χωρὶν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς Πάρνηθος, εἰς ὃ συνήλθον τινες (τῶν) ἐκ τοῦ ἀστέως, ὡς φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ.

665. Sud. λυκόποδες Phot. Hes.

666 Sud. λυκόποδες et ἐπὶ Λευψυδρίῳ μάχη Eust. 461. 20.

665. 1 τοὺς om. Γ ante τοὺς τῶν τυράννων pauca excidisse censet Naber (prolegg. ad Phot. p. 82), quae supplenda sint e Phot., qui s.v. λυκόποδας haec: τοὺς πρὸς Ἰππίαν ἀγωνισαμένους ἐπὶ Λευψυδρίῳ, ὡς γενναίους: ἔλαβον γὰρ τοὺς δορυφόρους τῶν τυράννων διὰ τὸ κατελεῖσθαι δέρμασι τοὺς πόδας καὶ λυκόποδας εἶναι κτλ. 3 ἔλαβον] ἐβαλλον RΓ Sud., corr. Biset 4 κεκαλυμμένους R Sud. καίεσθαι Γ 5 ἐπίσημον om. Γ 6 διὰ κτλ. om. R. 5 νῦν τοὺς Wilamowitz: τοὺς νῦν Γ 7 τὸ Λευψ. add. Dindorf e Sud.

666. ὑπὲρ τῆς Πάρνηθος³ Stein e Sud. s.v. ἐπὶ Λευψ. μάχη: περὶ τὴν Πάρνηθον R: τὸ ὑπεράνω Πάρνηθος Γ εἰς δ κτλ. om. R τῶν add. Stein e Sud.

Since the correct reading is undoubtedly λευκόποδες, a good deal in the scholia, as being quite certainly based on the reading λυκόποδες, is irrelevant to the present discussion though of interest. The mode of presentation of the half-chorus of Old Men is a little complicated, as will be seen below, but this is no excuse for the Scholiast's suggestion that the Old Men, as λυκόποδες, were δορυφόροι of the tyrant, and οἰκέται (whatever exactly this term may mean) ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος φυλακῇ. In view of this, too much time need not be spent on "ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης"⁴: there is some corruption and confusion here, but in the main gross misunderstanding, as Photius saw in his valiant effort, still retaining λυκόποδες, to get the Old Men over to the other side, in keeping with the only relevant passage of Aristotle,⁵ which is also mentioned in the scholia on line

Thus... the *episeimon*, or device, on the shields of the Alcmeonidae was a design of bent white legs or of a white leg.' The idea of bent legs connected with the Alcmeonidae Seltman appears to get from Hesychius, s.v. *Λαισποδίας*, and the suggestion that Alcmeon may have got this nickname because he had crooked legs. This is no less nonsense, one suspects, than the observations set down by Hesychius, s.v. *λυκόποδες*.

¹ On which subject I have to thank Professor Winnington-Ingram for his advice.

² Mr. D. M. Jones, of Exeter College, Oxford, very kindly provided me with a version of the text and apparatus based on Stein's edition. See also Suda (ed. Adler), s.v., and Dübner, *Schol.* 257.

³ For the alternatives τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος

of *Μθ. πολ.* (Sandys), ὑπὲρ τῆς Πάρνηθος of the Scholiast, and τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης of Hdt. 5. 62, see Jacoby, *F.G.H.* 328 F 115, n. 1 (Notes, p. 357), Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen*, p. 38, n. 21. On the site, Leake, *Topography of Athens*, ii. 39, How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, ii. 29.

⁴ Omitted by the Suda, Adler, iii. 295, 812. See also Dübner, *Scholia*.

⁵ *Μθ. πολ.* 19. 3. The other main source is Hdt. 5. 62. Indeed they may not be independent sources, cf. *προσέπταιον* in both. Wilamowitz was certain they were not, *Aristoteles und Athen*, p. 34 and n. 10. Both make clear that there were other exiles than the Alcmeonidae (cf. possibly the great-grandfather of Andocides, *de Myst.* 106 and

666. More important is the alternative explanation, that the reference in the text is to the *ἐπίσημον* of the so-called *λευκόποδες*, who are taken to be the Alcmeonidae and their supporters because of the reference by the Old Men to *Λευυῖδριον*. Here the *λευκόποδες* are at least put on the right side. It is this explanation of *λευκόποδες* which Seltman converted to an explanation of *λευκόποδες*, so that it might serve as the main support to his theory of coin-types and shield-blazons. By the emendation of *λευκόποδας* to *λευκόποδας* and of *λύκον* to *λευκόν* in line 5 of the scholia, he read (without sufficient stress on the fact of emendation):¹ *τινὲς δὲ λευκόποδας, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπίσημον λευκόν*: a reference, as he believed, to the supposed *white* triskeles blazon of the Alcmeonidae on Attic black-figured vases and on the coins.² *λευκόποδες* is undoubtedly the correct term in the text of Aristophanes, but *λευκόποδες* and *λευκόν* in the text of the scholia are convenient modifications of the latter and nothing more. This needs to be stressed, as does the fact that there is no other supporting literary evidence for clan blazons in general or for the triskeles in particular as the blazon of the Alcmeonidae. It is possible and necessary to reject Seltman's explanation. First, and least important, *λευκόποδες* and triskeles have no indubitable connexion. As a shield-sign on black-figured vases there appears also a human foot and leg,³ equally possible as the inspiration of *λευκόποδες* but introducing an unwelcome confusion into the concept of any proper system of blazons.⁴ Furthermore, if the Scholiast had been aware of the reading *λευκόποδες* it was to be expected that some indication of this knowledge would have been given, and some further explanation of the difference of reading added to line 5.⁵ Still more cogent are two other considerations, one of which is seen by Lacroix, though not clearly explained by him. *ἐπίσημον*

de Reditu 26), though they were the leaders according to *Αἰθ. πολ.* Cf. Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 339, n. 53. If, as the Scholiast on 666 seems to infer, the Old Men were *ἐκ τοῦ ὄρεως*, why need they carry the 'Alcmeonid blazon', or any?

¹ Op. cit., p. 21, n. 5: 'Emended the commentary runs . . . ' It is implied in Hesychius, *λευκόποδες οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι. οἱ μὲν τινες διὰ τὴν ποδῶν λευκότητα. ἦσαν γὰρ αἱ ἐποδεδεμένοι*. See Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristophanes' Lysistrata*, note ad loc.

² Particularly the cup British Museum, B 426 (Seltman, op. cit., fig. 50, also mentioned and commented on by Jacoby, *F.G.H.* 328 F 115, n. 15, Notes, bottom of p. 361), ascribed by Beazley (*Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters*, p. 256, no. 20) to the Lysippides Painter (see *ibid.*, p. 254). Seltman (and Jacoby following him) took a series of warriors (with triskeles and boucranon as shield signs) and other men in barbarous dress to represent (in the words of Jacoby) 'Athenian hoplites bearing on their shields the badges of the Alcmeonidae and the Eteobutadae, and barbarous mercenaries'. The date claimed for the cup was 510-500 B.C., and so the scene was taken to represent or to be suggested by the army of Cleomenes and his associates which expelled Hippias. The date of the cup is in fact probably earlier, apart

from the dubious interpretation of the shield-signs.

³ Seltman himself gives an example of foot and leg as *epismenon* on a shield on a black-figured vase, op. cit., p. 82 fig. 49; cf. *C.V.A. Mainz Univ.* i, pl. 34. Cf. the coin, Seltman, op. cit., fig. 48. He credits this 'Blazon' also to the Alcmeonidae, without making quite clear that C. Goettling had suggested this many years before; cf. Seltman, op. cit., p. 21 n. 7, and Lacroix, op. cit., p. 101, n. 4, for references.

⁴ The same foot and leg appear on some small electrum coins which Seltman (op. cit., pp. 79 ff.) would ascribe to the Alcmeonids at Delphi; there is also the silver coin with triskeles and Φ (usually ascribed to Philius) which Seltman would put in this context, op. cit., pp. 82 ff., cf. Jacoby, *F.G.H.* 328 F 115, n. 15 (Notes, p. 361). For Jacoby's views in general on this subject, see *F.G.H.* 328 F 200, Commentary, p. 566, and Notes pp. 454 ff. Jacoby seems inclined to accept Seltman's theory of the triskeles; so does Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World*, p. 108. It is a pity that non-archaeologists and non-numismatists sometimes take archaeologists and numismatists too seriously.

⁵ But see Hesychius, n. 1 above.

λύκων, as an explanation of the source of λυκόποδες, makes relatively good sense. It gives, at any rate, the supposed blazon, even if it does not explain how 'feet' come into question. ἐπίσημον λευκόν, on the other hand, is no explanation. It stresses only the colour element of λυκόποδες and leaves the form of the ἐπίσημον to be deduced. This is a poor kind of explanation even for the Scholiast. Unhappily Seltman was also led astray by his preoccupation with the blazons of shields on Attic black-figured vases. On these white paint is the material most commonly used for shield-blazons.¹ On actual shields the white colour is quite irrelevant, unless it is assumed that blazons were sometimes painted on shields²—and this is unlikely in view of the hard usage shields underwent both in and out of battle—and in white paint too. There is archaeological evidence, at any rate from Olympia,³ of metal shield-blazons, and there is good epigraphical evidence from Athens of something similar.⁴ In fact Seltman's interpretation based on an emended version of the scholia appears more than doubtful. That is not to say that blazons of clans or families did not exist. The truth or otherwise of this must be argued on other evidence. Certainly the reference of the Scholiast to an ἐπίσημον is not to be taken to indicate any special knowledge of such a blazon drawn from Aristotle or any other historical source. The Scholiast had little clue to the truth and explored all possible avenues. In any case there was sufficient evidence for ἐπίσημα available in the drama both tragic and comic.⁵

Can any explanation be suggested of λυκόποδες which will give to the passage containing it some sort of relevance in its context? The Scholiast, as noticed above, gave alternative versions which (i) put the Old Men on the side of the tyrant, and (ii) put them on the side of the anti-tyrant faction of the Alcmeonidae. The first alternative, if it was not begotten of sheer ignorance,⁶ must have come from a feeling that it was odd⁷ that the Old Men, if they were really supporters of the anti-tyrant faction (whether conceived as returning from exile or ἐκ τοῦ ἀστυεύς), should cheer themselves on with a recollection of what was in fact a reverse for the anti-tyrants, coming after other reverses,⁸ and a success for the tyrant. Perhaps, felt the Scholiast, they might be the supporters, indeed the δορυφόροι, of the tyrant, who were victorious at Leipsydriion.⁹ In point of fact he need not have worried about this point. It is abundantly clear why Leipsydriion is mentioned even by men who were defeated there. The reason is the seizure of the Acropolis of Athens by the women, anti-war

¹ Though by no means always. Some are incised (cf. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, p. 23, on the C Painter) and some are in red paint or drawn in black outline. It might be added that in red-figured vases the triskeles appears in black.

² The Scholiast on *Ran.* 928 f. seems to have thought they were: εἰώθεαι γὰρ ζωγραφεῖν εἰς τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀνθρώπων.

³ *Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Bericht i, pls. 11-13, ii, pls. 23-26, iii, pls. 24-28, v, pls. 28-33; cf. γυναικείους χαλκὸν ἀνδρῶν of *Ran.* 929.

⁴ *I.G.* ii³. 1426.372: four ἐπίσημα ἀσπίδων: δελφίς, γοργόνειον, αἰετός, ἵππος. 1445.61: shields ἐπίσημοι having a δράκων.

⁵ See Lacroix, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 560; *Ran.* 929; *Acharn.* 582, 964, 1181.

Not many, but enough to give the Scholiast ideas.

⁶ Cf. *Aves* 358, 369, *Nubes* 373, *Ecc.* 196, *Lys.* 103 (?) and the scholia on them.

⁷ Thus Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristophanes' Lysistrata*, ad loc., feels a little unhappy: 'Hier klingt es so, als wäre der Chor gegen Leipsydriion gezogen. Genaue Kenntnis darf man bei Aristophanes nicht verlangen: dies Abenteuer lag mehr als 100 Jahre zurück.' Alas for oral tradition!

⁸ *Μθ. πολ.* 19. 3, προσέπτυσαν; cf. *Hdt.* 5. 62.

⁹ For such a discreditable suggestion did the Scholiast have in mind the Sausage Seller's charge that the grandfather of Paphlagon was δορυφόρον . . . τῶν Βυρσίνης τῆς Ἰωνίου, *Equ.* 448-9?

and possibly pro-Spartan. Ideas of treason, tyranny, and pro-Spartan leanings¹ come together to recall the previous occasion on which the Acropolis was involved with Spartans and tyrants. This association of ideas, introducing a very distant event,² displaces the common theme³ of the 'fighters at Marathon',⁴ and appears first (274) with a reference to Cleomenes (ὅς αὐτὴν κατέσχε πρώτος, i.e. the Acropolis), followed by the recollections of the Old Men (281-2) as the besiegers of Cleomenes, and therefore by implication as the supporters or at least the co-belligerents of Cleisthenes. The reference to Marathon (285) might also represent a side-glance at Hippias. The course of events and the dual position of Cleisthenes and his supporters as anti-tyrant and anti-Spartan served to strengthen that association of ideas in the radical democrat which is presented elsewhere in Aristophanes: that tyranny is anti-democratic and Sparta is anti-democratic, and so tyranny and philolaconism are associated together.⁵ Thus the Old Men (619) smell tyranny in the women's *coup*, and naturally Hippias' tyranny: καὶ μάλιστα ὁσφραίνομαι τῆς Ἰππίου τυραννίδος, and (620) express fears of Laconian intrigue. Tyranny comes up again in 630 ff. with a reference to Harmodius and Aristogeiton. It is not, then, surprising that the anti-tyrant descent on Leipsydriion secures an appropriate mention in our passage, and the fact that Alcmeonids and Spartans were later to be united in a common interest is for the time being conveniently forgotten, until, at the end of the play, when Spartans and Athenians are reconciled, the Athenians are reminded of the services of the Spartans in expelling the tyrant (1150). Before the reconciliation, however, Leipsydriion and the Old Men in their anti-tyrant aspect are mentioned appropriately enough. But what of λευκόποδες? In 281-2 it is made clear that in those far-off days when Cleomenes was besieged in the Acropolis the Old Men were infantrymen. It is also possible to detect on the part of the Men's chorus a certain prejudice against cavalrymen, quite apart from the jokes *sensu obsceno* on horses and riders. In 403 the Proboulos is careful to show that his reference to Poseidon is not to Poseidon Hippios. In 561 the cavalry officer, ἀνὴρ κομῆτης, complete with gruel in helmet, is clearly made fun of. The Old Men would, with some pride, have called themselves 'foot-sloggers'⁶ and in fact they do, for it is to be suggested that this is the meaning of λευκόποδες,⁷ not because the Old Men wear white shoes or boots or because their skin is white since they normally wear shoes.⁸ The reference is to the infantryman, who did not wear boots, as is abundantly clear from vase-paintings. He went bare-foot. It might be thought that this would make him μελάμπους, but it seems more likely that this means 'hairy-legged', cf. μελάμπυγος.⁹ On road and field, dust and dried mud produce an effect of whiteness as every traveller in Greece knows.¹⁰

¹ Cf. *Vesp.* 345, 483, 953 (conspiracy); 417, 464-5, 470, 487, 502 (tyranny); 474-5 (philolaconism); *Pax* 640 (ὡς φρονεῖ τὰ Βρασιδίου); *Aves* 1074-5; *Thesm.* 338, 339.

² On which see Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen*, p. 34, n. 10; Jacoby, *F.Gr.H.* 328 F 115, Notes, pp. 358 ff.

³ Marathon, *Acharn.* 677 (and fighters at sea), 698; *Nubes* 986; *Vespae* 1076; *Thesm.* 806.

⁴ Though this appears too in *Lys.* 285.

⁵ See n. 1 above.

⁶ Cf. Socrates after the battle of Delium, Plato, *Symp.* 221 a-b.

⁷ For other suggestions, cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristophanes' Lysistrata*, ad loc., where the view is expressed that this refers to young men's feet: 'also die junge feine Kerle. Jetzt werden die Füße der Greise ganz anders aussehen, die übrigens nicht barfuß getanz haben'.

⁸ Cf. Hesychius, p. 244, n. 1 above.

⁹ Cf. *Lys.* 802 and Rogers's note ad loc.

¹⁰ For foot-washing (? despite the use of shoes), cf. *Vesp.* 608. See also LS, s.v. κοῖ-ποδες.

There is, however, more than this to λευκόποδες. As B. B. Rogers¹ and others have seen, there is a play on words between λευκόποδες and λυκόποδες. The Scholiast may or may not have had some idea of this. Usually in the abundant word-play of Aristophanes (and there must be many examples which have escaped Scholiast and commentators)² the play involves change of consonant, change of a portion of a compound word, sometimes change of consonants and vowels, rarely of vowels only.³ Sometimes both words in the word-play are expressed, at others and very commonly, one only, with the other left to be understood by the audience which must have had a keen appreciation of this sort of thing.⁴ In the present case the word-pair λευκόποδες : λυκόποδες involves a change from diphthong to pure short vowel. There is undoubtedly some uncertainty arising from our defective knowledge of the pronunciation of Greek, but such a word-play can be paralleled and the interpretation to be suggested seems to strengthen the probability. In the first word of the pair both elements are important; in the second the first element only. The first word, λευκόποδες, has already been discussed above. In the second, λυκόποδες, there is first of all, but less important, a reference to λύκος a wolf, for the Old Men would like to think that they are fierce fellows even in their old age. The main reference, however, is to Λύκος the ancient Attic hero of the Diakria, closely associated in Aristophanes with the courts and jurymen.⁵ It is an appropriate play on words. As already noticed, there is apparent a tone faintly hostile to the *ἱππεῖς*. In addition the function of the Old Men as members of the Heliia is stressed: cf. ἀλλ' οὐκέθ' ἡλιάζει (380),⁶ and the emphasis on the fact that the Women, in seizing the Acropolis, have taken possession of the treasury, and therefore of the source of the dicasts' pay (624-5). In general the tone of the Old Men is that of Philocleon and his contemporaries in the *Wasps*. They are represented as those who went to Leipsydriion because radical democrats are also anti-tyrant. The connexion with the Alcmeonidae is a side issue,⁷ and blazons come into the matter only through the imagination of the Scholiast.

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¹ Note ad loc.

² For example, perhaps, Pax 289 (see in K. Schauenburg, *Charites*, A. E. Raubitschek, 'Das Datislied', pp. 234-42), 699. On the other hand, some cases of word-play may not be such: cf. Pax 1176, βάμμα Κυζικηνικόν may have no suggestion of χέζειν but refer rather to the pale and greenish colour of some Cyzicene electrum coins with a low gold content.

³ Consonants: *Lys.* 110, σκυτίνη : σκυένη; *Vesp.* 895, Λάχης : Λάβης; *Acharn.* 234, βλέπειν : Βαλλήναι; *Equ.* 448-49, Βυροίνης : Μυροίνης. Compounds: *Lys.* 397, Βουζύγης : Χολοζύγης; *Nubes* 296, τρυγοδαίμονες : κακοδαίμονες. Consonants and vowels: *Aves* 1179, Ἰράκας : Θράκας (see Rogers); *Nubes* 859, εἰς τὸ δόν ἀπώλεσα : ἀνίλωσα; Pax 1270, παῖσαι : Μούσαι. Vowels: *Ranæ* 184 χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων; *Aves* 299-300, κειρόνλος : κηρόλος; Pax 454, Παιών : παῖεν.

⁴ To which the Athenians seem to have

been very sensitive, cf. Aeschines, in *Tim.* 80, 83, 84.

⁵ *Vesp.* 389 (Lycus, γείτων ἦρω), with Rogers's note; *ibid.* 819 and 1223. On his animal form, see *The Athenian Agora* III 148.

⁶ All manuscripts except B, ἡλιάζει. Cobet, ἡλιάζει. Play on words intended? They are γέροντες ἡλιασταί such as those to whom Paphlagon (Cleón) appeals in *Equ.* 255 ff.; cf. *Vesp.* 473 ff.

⁷ It is worth noting that the Alcmeonids are referred to in a very different fashion (the Spartan attitude?) in *Equ.* 445-6, where Paphlagon suggests that the Sausage Seller is descended ἐκ τῶν ἀταγρίων . . . τῶν τῆς θεοῦ. Cf. *Thuc.* i. 126. There is no suggestion of democracy in connexion with the horse-loving Alcmeonids of *Nubes* 124. The Cleisthenes of *Lys.* 621, where fears are expressed of Laconian intrigue, probably belonged to another family.

THIS passage has been very frequently discussed, but the deductions drawn from it have been so various and the exact meaning of the Greek has often been left so vague that it seemed to merit one more attempt at analysis.

In what follows no account has been taken of such evidence on the points raised as is available from other sources, on the ground that the passage is generally used as an independent basis for certain conclusions and should therefore be considered strictly on its own merits.

A few words are necessary on the context. Philip had made a proposal to Athens for a treaty (*σύμβολα*), the chief object of which would be to regulate commercial suits between Macedonians and Athenians. The speaker, probably Hegesippus, is criticizing this proposal on the ground that its real object is not to facilitate the settlement of such suits, but to secure an *ex post facto* sanction for certain illegalities of which Philip had been guilty in connexion with Potidaea. He argues that such a treaty is superfluous, for none of Philip's predecessors ever made one, though there was much more intercourse between the two peoples in the past than now and at that time there were no *ἐμπορικαὶ δίκαι κατὰ μήνα*, which by providing for the speedy decision of cases render a treaty unnecessary even between states so far separated as Macedon and Athens.¹

Then follows the crucial passage. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ὄντος τότε, οὐκ ἐλουστέλει σύμβολα ποιησαμένους οὐτ' ἐκ Μακεδονίας πλεῖν Ἀθήναζε δίκας ληψομένους, οὐθ' ἡμῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομίμοις ἐκεῖνοί τε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς δίκας ἐλάμβανον.

The general sense of this is clear. Hegesippus is comparing the situation as it would have been with a treaty and the situation as it had been without a treaty and arguing that to make a treaty would have been superfluous (or actually disadvantageous?) in the past, when there were no suits *κατὰ μήνα*, and *a fortiori* is so now. The problem is to determine more precisely what is the contrast implied between the two halves of the sentence quoted. In the solution of this problem various scholars have found answers to some or all of the following questions: (a) on what principle was the place of trial determined in commercial suits between citizens of different States, (b) what law was administered in such suits, and (c) what alteration, if any, was normally made in these respects by a treaty?

At the risk of oversimplifying it may be well to begin by stating briefly the possible answers to (a) and (b) and the effects which a treaty might have had.²

(a) 1. There might be provisions in the legal systems of each of the two states whereby a foreigner could both sue and be sued by a member of that state.

¹ I suggest very tentatively that the words τοῖς νομοῦντων ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντας in § 12 are to be taken concessively and that the point is this; litigants from such a distance as Macedon were likely to suffer much more severely owing to delays in the Athenian courts than those from, say, Aegina or Euboea. States at a distance therefore were more likely than neighbouring states to arrange for smooth and speedy litigation in

each other's courts by means of a treaty; but at Athens the institution of *δίκαι ἐμπορικαὶ κατὰ μήνα*, by providing for this smooth and speedy litigation, rendered treaties unnecessary even with the most distant states.

² Naturally I have not attempted to exhaust the possibilities. I only suggest those which either have been or might be plausibly connected with this passage.

Thus a Macedonian could both sue and be sued by an Athenian in Athens and an Athenian could both sue and be sued by a Macedonian in Macedon. This principle could have been worked equally well with or without a treaty. For convenience of reference it may be called the principle of *forum concursus*.

2. There might be a system whereby such suits were heard in the state where the contract had been made (*forum contractus*). This principle again would have worked as well without a treaty as with one, provided that the law of each of the two states allowed a foreigner both to sue and to be sued on a contract made in that state; though a Macedonian who wished to sue an Athenian on a contract made in Macedon would have found difficulty in getting him to appear in a Macedonian court.

3. There might be a system whereby such suits could only be heard in the defendant's state (*forum rei*). Such a system must have been embodied in a treaty. Athens could not have allowed Macedonians to sue in Athens and exempted them from being sued there unless she had secured reciprocal privileges for Athenians in Macedon by means of a treaty.

4. Finally, for form's sake merely, I add the principle that these suits should be heard in the plaintiff's state (*forum actoris*).

Some interpretations of our passage assume that the contrast between the two halves of the sentence is concerned solely with the place of trial. They regard the whole emphasis in the first half as falling on the word *πλεῖν*, thus making Hegesippus argue that a treaty was actually disadvantageous in that it involved litigants in more travelling than was necessary where there was no treaty. We have to ask then how it might come about that a change from one to another of the principles above mentioned might involve litigants in additional voyages between Athens and Macedon. It is clear that in all cases where the litigants happened to be in different places before the suit began one of them would have to travel under any system. But in those cases where the two litigants happened to be in the same place, under the *forum concursus* principle the case could always be heard on the spot irrespective of the nationality of defendant or plaintiff or of the place of contract, whereas under any of the other principles both litigants might have to travel to the other state. On the other hand, no change from one to another of the three last principles could involve more travelling for litigants in the aggregate. We may therefore conclude that, if this really is the point Hegesippus is making, *forum concursus* applied when there was no treaty and a treaty replaced it by one of the other three principles.

(b) The law administered might be (1) the law of the state where the case was heard, (2) the law of the state where the contract was made, (3) the law of the defendant's, or (4) of the plaintiff's state irrespective of the place of trial or of contract, or finally (5) entirely new law set up by treaty.

Some interpretations suggest that a treaty normally set up new law distinct from the existing law of the two states and that this is the contrast intended here, the emphasis in the first half of the sentence being by a familiar idiom rather upon the participial clause *σύμβολα ποιησαμένων* than on the main verb *πλεῖν*.

One further preliminary point before proceeding to consider some interpretations in detail. A great deal depends on the precise meaning to be attached to the phrases *δίκας ληφομένων* and *τὰς δίκας ἐλάμβανον*. They are usually taken as referring to plaintiffs and that is *prima facie* justifiable. But

it is worth noting that *δίκην λαμβάνειν* is not the same as *δίκην λαγχάνειν*; it is not the technical term for 'to bring a suit', 'to set on foot legal proceedings'; rather it seems to mean 'to be awarded judgement', and though I would not go so far as to say that it could ever be used of a defendant who was awarded judgement, I think that in certain contexts it might well be used loosely in the sense of 'to be a litigant'.

I turn to some of the more important individual interpretations. Platner, *Der Proceß und die Klagen bei den Attikern*, (1824-5), p. 109, draws the following inference from the passage. 'Demosthenes (i.e. Hegesippus) führt es als eine Folge der errichteten Verträge an, dass man von Macedonien nach Athen und von hier nach Macedonien schiffen muss . . . Ohne eingegangene Verträge kann der Macedonier der sich zu Athen befindet, gleich hier belangt werden, was umgekehrt von dem Athenier gilt, der sich in Macedonien aufhält. Die Errichtung der Verträge hebt dies auf, und der Process muss in dem Vaterlande des Beklagten seinen Anfang nehmen.' Thus he concludes that a treaty would set up the *forum rei* principle and by so doing involve litigants in more travelling than had before been necessary. It is not clear what principle he assumes for cases where there was no treaty. He refers only to Macedonian defendants sued in Athens and Athenian defendants sued in Macedon, which suggests the principle of *forum actoris*. Apart from the fact that this is not what the second half of the sentence says, the implied argument is fallacious. A change from *forum actoris* to *forum rei* would not in fact involve more travelling for litigants in the aggregate.

If, on the other hand, we are to suppose that the change was from *forum concursus* to *forum rei*, Platner's language exaggerates the increase of travelling which would be involved. For it suggests that with a treaty litigants would always have to sail, without one never. But the foregoing analysis has shown that such a change would only involve extra voyages in cases where both litigants happened to be in the state of the plaintiff at the moment when the suit was to be brought.

But there is a further and more serious difficulty. In order to justify the conclusion that a treaty would set up the *forum rei* principle it is necessary to press the sense of 'plaintiffs' for *δίκας ληφομένους*. But in that case *τὰς δίκας ἐλάμβανον* must also be restricted to plaintiffs and the second half of the sentence will then mean 'but Athenian plaintiffs sued under Macedonian rules and Macedonian plaintiffs under Athenian rules'. This appears to be simply the *forum rei* principle over again and makes nonsense of the interpretation. The only way out of the difficulty would be to paraphrase 'but Athenian plaintiffs sued under Macedonian rules in Athens and Macedonian plaintiffs under Athenian rules in Macedon'. This might be regarded as a somewhat loose description of the *forum concursus* principle and would imply that in non-treaty cases the law administered was the law of the defendant's state. But the omission of the vital words 'in Athens' and 'in Macedon' is decisive against this explanation.

If, on the other hand, *τὰς δίκας ἐλάμβανον* is to bear the wider sense of 'litigated' (Athenians sued and were sued in Macedon and Macedonians sued and were sued in Athens), then equally *δίκας ληφομένους* must bear the wider sense of 'litigants' and that means that we cannot tell from this passage what principle for the place of trial a treaty would normally set up in place of *forum concursus*, since any one of the other three principles would involve more travelling.

Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* (1915), p. 966 and note, follows Platner in deducing the *forum rei* principle for treaty cases from this passage and further denies that we can infer from it that a treaty set up new law.

Stahl deals at length with the passage in *De Sociorum Atheniensium Iudiciis Commentatio* (1881), pp. 7 ff., and attempts to draw three conclusions from it. First, he insists on the meaning 'plaintiffs' for δίκας ληφομένους and on that ground infers the *forum rei* principle for treaty cases. Secondly, he argues that the main emphasis in the first half of the sentence is not on the words οὔτε to Μακεδονίαν, but on σύμβολα ποιησαμένους and that the main contrast therefore is between the new law which a treaty would set up and the existing law of Athens and of Macedon. But, thirdly, he maintains that *some* distinction of *forum* must be implied by the use of the word πλεῖν in the first half of the sentence ('accedit quod molestia quaedam itinerum designari videtur quae in ceteris actionibus mercatoriis—i.e. suits not ἀπὸ συμβόλων—non fuerit'). Accordingly, having settled on the principle of *forum rei* for treaty cases, he concludes that *forum contractus* was the principle when there was no treaty. This attempt to have it both ways breaks down in two directions. First, if you press the sense of 'plaintiffs' for δίκας ληφομένους you must also press it for τὰς δίκας ἐλάμβανον and that gives *forum rei* for both types of case. Secondly, there would in fact be no greater 'molestia itinerum' under the *forum rei* principle than under *forum contractus*. It is of course possible that Hegesippus confused himself himself or wished to confuse his hearers into thinking that there would; but we are not justified in basing an established conclusion on the hypothesis of a fallacious argument.

H. G. Robertson in *University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics*, vol. iv, no. 1 (1924), pp. 14 ff., draws the same three inferences as Stahl, though he actually calls attention to the fact that *forum rei* would not involve more travelling than *forum contractus*.

R. J. Hopper, *J.H.S.* lxi (1943), 44, recognizes the untrustworthiness of the passage, as does A. W. Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* i (1945), 238.

It appears to me that we have a choice between the two following views, of which I should definitely prefer the second.

1. We may insist that the word πλεῖν necessarily implies more travelling for litigants under a treaty. We are then bound to assume that, unless the argument is fallacious, *forum concursus* applied when there was no treaty. We cannot say what principle a treaty set up in its place since we cannot press the sense 'plaintiffs' for δίκας ληφομένους without making τὰς δίκας ἐλάμβανον mean 'sued' and thus destroying the contrast. We shall have to translate: 'yet, though no such suits existed then, there was nothing to be gained by making a treaty and thus compelling Macedonians to sail for litigation to Athens and Athenians to Macedon, but we litigated under their rules and they under ours'.

It must be admitted that, if this is what Hegesippus meant, he has expressed it very badly. The first half of the sentence having suggested that under a treaty litigants would have to sail to Athens or to Macedon, the second half ought to convey the idea that, where there was no treaty, litigants could often get their suits settled at home. It would come much nearer to conveying this idea if ἐδίδοσαν were substituted for ἐλάμβανον, 'we could be sued under their rules and they under ours'.

2. We may regard πλεῖν as irrelevant to the contrast which is being made. Possibly Hegesippus used the word because he still had in mind the distance

between Athens and Macedon, a point relevant to what he has just been saying, but not strictly relevant here. The contrast then is not between two different principles for determining the place of trial, but between a state of affairs in which the respective laws of the two states contain adequate provision for the litigation of foreigners and one in which there is some deficiency in the law of either or both states such as requires to be remedied by a treaty. We should translate: 'yet, even though no such suits existed then, there was nothing to be gained by making a treaty to regulate the procedure of Macedonians who came to sue in Athens and Athenians who went to sue in Macedon, but we sued under the existing law of Macedon and they under the existing law of Athens'.

On this second view it is possible to keep to the more natural meaning of 'sue' for *δίκας λαμβάνειν*, but even so we cannot press the phrases as implying the *forum rei* principle in the two types of case. For, if once it is granted that the *forum* is irrelevant to the argument, then the reference to plaintiffs rather than defendants or simply litigants also ceases to be relevant and, that being so, it would not be impossible or even unnatural for a speaker to use 'plaintiffs' loosely, though strict accuracy might demand 'litigants'. In other words, supposing some other principle—*forum contractus* for example—had applied in either or both types of case, the language used would still be perfectly intelligible.

My general conclusions are then as follows: (1) On no interpretation can we deduce from this passage that a treaty set up the principle of *forum rei*. (2) On the first of the two suggested interpretations we can infer, *a priori* rather than from the actual words used, that, where there was no treaty, *forum concursus* applied. (3) On the second interpretation we can infer that a treaty would set up new law in the sense that normally it would be negotiated in order to supply deficiencies in the law of either or both of the contracting states.

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THE ROMAN NOBILITY IN THE SECOND CIVIL WAR

A SIGNIFICANT distinction can be noticed in Cicero's contemporary references to the anti-revolutionary parties in the first two Civil Wars. For both he claims superior *dignitas*: *Rosc. Am.* 136 *quis enim erat qui non videret humilitatem cum dignitate de amplitudine contendere?* (cf. *Phil.* 8.7. *ne dominarentur indigni*), *Lig.* 19 *principum dignitas erat paene par, non par fortasse eorum qui sequebantur*. But in the *Pro Roscio dignitas* and *nobilitas* go together. Sulla's cause is *causa nobilitatis* (135, 138), his party is the nobility (141, 149), his triumph *victoria nobilium* (142).¹ Such expressions, frequent and casual, evidently belonged to current usage and may be assumed to have fitted the facts. Marian *nobiles*² are indeed not lacking; but the records are meagre, and presumably they were a small minority in their class. An ironical hit at Verres (not a *nobilis*, though of senatorial family) tells the same tale ten years later: *ut possit aliquis suspicari C. Verrem, quod ferre novos homines non potuerit, ad nobilitatem, hoc est ad suos transisse* (*Verr.* 2. 1. 35)—for a *nobilis*, as such, Sulla was the only leader. Verres' true motive for changing sides, discreditable of course, is explained later on (§37); *eo Sullanus repente factus est, non ut honos et dignitas nobilitati restitueretur*.

In or after 49 it is otherwise. Cicero's letters abound in disquisitions on the war, the parties, and the leaders.³ From these the nobility, as such, is absent. The nearest we get to a clear implication that its home lay with one party rather than the other comes in a letter to M. Marcellus (*Fam.* 4. 8. 2), who is told (in 46) that Caesar welcomes nobility and individual rank (*dignitates hominum*) so far as circumstances and his own cause permits. No doubt the Caesarians were a sorry lot, a *vécula*, but that is not a matter of birth; the Pompeians in March 49 were apparently not much better,⁴ though in February they had been a company of excellent and illustrious citizens.⁵ One fought, not for the nobility, but for the state,⁶ or for Pompey. Admittedly this is from the standpoint of a *novus homo*, but the contrast with the *Pro Roscio* is not to be discounted.

In the *Philippics* Antony's taunts stung Cicero into rhetorical eulogy. One passage (13. 29 f.) lists two Pompeian consuls and eight consulars⁷ (omitting

¹ Cf. also 16 *cum omnium nobilium dignitas et salus in discrimen veniret*; *Quinct.* 69 (of a Marian) *quem tu a puero sic instituisse ut nobili ne gladiatorum quidem faveret*.

² i.e. descendants in the male line of consuls, consular tribunes, or dictators (M. Gelzer, *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik*, pp. 22 ff., A. Afzelius (*Classica et Mediaevalia*, vii [1945], 150–200)).

³ e.g. *Att.* 7. 7. 5–7, 9. 1. 2–4, *Fam.* 7. 3. 1–4, 16. 11. 2; cf. also *Lig.* 17–19, *Deiot.* 11.

⁴ *Att.* 9. 11. 3f.

⁵ *Ibid.* 8. 3. 2.

⁶ *Fam.* 6. 6. 12.

⁷ Not veraciously, according to Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 45, n. 1, who follows Münzer (*R.E.* iii. 2762 ff., x. 1367 ff., iv A. 854 ff.) in understanding from Cicero's language elsewhere that two of those named,

M. Marcellus and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, kept aloof from the theatre of war in lettered retirement and 'should more honestly be termed neutrals'. Perhaps historical research might not suffer from the assumption as a working axiom that even in rhetorical moments Cicero was not simultaneously a liar and an ass. Every senator must have known perfectly well what Marcellus and Sulpicius did in the war. The former was certainly a Pompeian, however unenthusiastic. *Att.* 8. 12 A. 4 (properly edited) fixes him at Pompey's side in Brundisium, and later he was in Greece. When Cicero writes to him there in 46 that he 'joined in the start of the war from necessity and wisely declined to pursue it to the bitter end' (*Fam.* 4. 9. 3; cf. 4. 7. 2), this does not imply that Marcellus

the orator) severally; then follow collectively praetorii (Cato at their head), aedilicii, tribunicii, and quaestorii in exclamatory series. 2. 54 is more venture-some: *consules . . . omnes consulares qui per valetudinem exsequi cladem illam fugamque potuissent, praetores, praetorios, tribunos pl., magnam partem senatus, omnem subolem iuventutis*. A previous catalogue (§37) substitutes for the last component *omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis*. The two nouns are hendiadys, and Cicero was doubtless thinking of the sons whom some of the *principes* brought with them.¹ This aside, these boasts concern *dignitas*, not *nobilitas*.

Little or nothing in the way of literary testimony can be put beside Cicero. The Sallustian Epistles are suspect. It may be worth noting that according to Livy's epitomist (Book 85) the entire nobility joined Sulla in 83; his is the *pars optimatium* (Book 84). Compare Book 109 *Cn. Pompeium ceterosque partium eius*.

That Caesar was not the only *nobilis* in his party is no secret;² and when Lucan (7. 597 f.) talks of the great mound of patrician dead at Pharsalus without a plebeian corpse among them, he will stand doubly suspect of terminological inexactitude. But the impression persists that the great bulk of the nobility stood with Pompey. Münzer, who if anyone ought to have been alive to the prosopographical evidence, says or implies as much more than once.³ The evidence itself, sufficiently copious, does not confirm this view.

The first three lists below present the names, as best I have been able to collect them, of *nobiles* who certainly or probably supported either side or neither. After each man comes his number in *R.E.*, where available. The offices indicated were held in or before January 49.

POMPEIANS

L. Aelius Tubero 150 (praetorius).⁴

Sex. Atilius Serranus.⁵

gave up before Pharsalus. No evidence suggests that he did, enough (apart from *Phil.* 13. 29) that he did not. *Fam.* 4. 7. 2 *neque tu multum interfuisti rebus gerendis et ego id semper egi ne interesset equates Marcellus'* role with the writer's own (cf. *Att.* 11. 4. 1 from Pompey's camp, *ipse fugi adhuc omne munus*); and Cicero's statement that he often saw Marcellus *cum insolentiam certorum hominum tum etiam ipsius: ictoriae ferocitatem extimescentem* (*Marc.* 16) suggests Marcellus' apprehensions, like Cicero's, were based on personal observation in the Pompeian army.

Sulpicius wavered at the outset, going further in Caesar's direction than Cicero was prepared to go. But in May he told Cicero most emphatically that if the exiles were restored he would go into exile himself (*Att.* 10. 14. 3). He was in Samos in mid-47. (*Brut.* 156). Had he joined Pompey? It is probable, if not certain. The passages cited by Münzer (*R.E.* iv A. 855) do not, as Münzer supposes, disagree with one another, they only disagree with Münzer. *Fam.* 4. 3. 2 and 6. 1. 6 refer to pacific advice before the outbreak of war or shortly after; and there does not look to me anything 'tendenziös gefärbt' in *Fam.* 6. 6. 10 which mentions

Sulpicius as a pardoned anti-Caesarian along with Cicero, C. Cassius, M. Brutus, and M. Marcellus. Münzer ignores *Att.* 13. 10. 1, where Cicero takes Atticus to task for calling him (Cicero) the only surviving consular after Marcellus' assassination: *sed illud napà τῆν ἱστορίαν, tu praesertim, 'me reliquum consularem', quid? tibi Servius quid videtur?* Commentators flounder, but Atticus must have written or implied that Cicero was the only remaining Pompeian consular.

¹ See pp. 255 f. ² Syme, *op. cit.*, c. v.

³ *R.E.* ii A. 1799. 39 ff. 'Beim Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges stellte sich Servilius im Gegensatz zu dem größten Teil der Nobilität auf die Seite Caesars.' viii A. 9. 41. f. 'Im Bürgerkrieg trat Valerius wie Appius und die Nobilität überhaupt auf Seiten des Pompeius.' A Postumius of the old line is 'schwerlich auf der Seite Caesars zu erwarten' (xxii. 896. 39: never mind D. Brutus Albinus!).

⁴ Missing from Broughton's index (*Magistrates of the Roman Republic*: references are throughout to vol. ii). *Nobilitas* (descent from consular Aelii Pacti) is guaranteed by *Cic. Mur.* 75, *Rep.* 1. 31, *Lig.* 27).

⁵ Not in *R.E.* See Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, pp. 244 f.

- M. (Aurelius) Cotta 109 (praetorius).
 L. Caecilius Metellus 75 (tr. pl. 49).¹
 Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica 99 (cos. 52, pont.).
 M. Calpurnius Bibulus 28 (cos. 59).²
 Cn. Calpurnius Piso (Frugi) 95 (proq. 49).
 C. Cassius Longinus 59 (tr. pl. 49).
 C. Claudius Marcellus 217 (cos. 49).
 M. Claudius Marcellus 229 (cos. 51).
 App. Claudius Pulcher 297 (cos. 54, cens. 50, augur).
 L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus 218 (cos. 49).
 P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther 238 (cos. 57, pont.).
 P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther 239 (augur).
 Faustus Cornelius Sulla 377 (q. 54, augur).
 L. Domitius Ahenobarbus 27 (cos. 54, pont.).
 C. Fannius 9 (praetorius, pont.).
 L. Julius Caesar 144.
 M. Junius Brutus (Q. Servilius Caepio Brutus) 53 (q. 53, leg. 49, pont.).
 Licinius (Crassus) Damasippus 65 (senator).
 P. Licinius Crassus Dives Junianus 75 (tr. pl. 53).
 L. Livius Ocella 25 (praetorius).³
 A. Manlius Torquatus 70 (pr. 70?).
 L. Manlius Torquatus 80 (pr. 49).
 Minucius Rufus 50.
 Q. Minucius Thermus 67 (praetorius).
 M. Octavius 33 (aed. cur. 50).
 M. Opimius 9.
 Otacilius Crassus 9.
 A. Plautius (Silvanus?) 8 (pr. 51).⁴
 Pompeius Rufus 43.
 M. Porcius Cato 20 (pr. 54).
 M. Publicius 12 (senator).⁵
 M. Pupius Piso 10-12 (senator).⁶
 Sex. Quintilius Varus (q. 49).
 P. Rutilius Lupus 27 (pr. 49).
 Ser. Sulpicius 21 (senator).
 Ser. Sulpicius Rufus 95 (cos. 51).
 M. Terentius Varro 84 (praetorius).⁷
 C. Valerius Flaccus 169 (leg. 53-51).

Youthful *filii familias* make a special category—Cicero's *flos nobilitatis ac iuventutis*. App. Pulcher's two homonymous nephews (one his adopted son: *R.E.* 298, 299) seem to have been in Greece in 48, as also his ward, Marcus

¹ In Rome in April 49, but seems to have joined Pompey later (cf. Cic. *Att.* 11. 7. 2).

² *Nobilitas* not directly proved, but to be deduced from his career and prestige.

³ Conjectural. See *R.E.*

⁴ Descent from consular Plautii uncertain.

⁵ Doubtful. If a member of the Malleolus family he may descend from the consul of 232. Senatorial rank is indicated by his status as *legatus pro praetore* under Cn.

Pompeius the Younger in 46-45.

⁶ Leg. 49, pr. 44, and son of the consul of 61. Despite Syme's correction (*Cl. Phil.* [1955], 135), A. Stein in the new volume of *R.E.* repeats Broughton's misidentification (*Mag.* p. 269).

⁷ Though probably an *eques* and perhaps a *municipalis eques* he most likely claimed descent from the consul of 216: cf. Dahlmann *R.E. Suppl.* vi. 1173.

Rex (R.E. 88). Tubero, Bibulus, the two Lentuli,¹ Domitius, Livius Ocella(?), Pompey, Cato, and Cicero contributed sons. Their presence added lustre, but was presumably involuntary.

I am not likely to be challenged on the omission of D. Laelius, Pompey's family friend and ancestor of the imperial Laelii Balbi; but it is worth note that all possibility of descent from consular Laelii is ruled out by Cicero's description in *Flacc.* 18 *honesto loco natus*—the context would have demanded *nobilis* had the fact permitted. Of greater moment is the matter of L. (or T.) Postumius (R.E. 15). Cicero mentions him twice.² In *Att.* 7. 15. 2 (January 49) he appears in the Pompeian conclave at Capua, without praenomen, as refusing to obey the senate's direction that he should relieve the proquaestor Furfanius in Sicily unless Cato went with him: *et suam in senatu operam auctoritatemque quam magni aestimat*. Even allowing for a trace of irony in the description, it is hardly credible that a young man (cf. Münzer, R.E. xxii. 898, 50 ff.) would have taken so high a line, and I therefore agree with Broughton³ that Postumius was probably a praetorius. His identity with T. Postumius of Cic. *Brut.* 269, who perished in the war, *non minus vehemens orator quam bellator*, seems almost certain, and the praenomen Titus, if correct, would exclude him from the patrician Postumii Albini.

However he is Lucius in 'Sall.' *Ep. ad Caes.* 2. 9. 4. After denouncing Bibulus, Domitius, and Cato (in order of seniority!) the writer proceeds: *reliqui de factione sunt inertissimi nobiles, in quibus sicut in titulo praeter bonum nomen nihil est additamenti. L. Postumii, M. Favonii mihi videntur quasi magnae navis supervacanea onera esse: ubi salvi pervenire, usui sunt; si quid adversi coortum est, de illis potissimum iactura fit, quia pretii minimi sunt*. Sir Ronald Syme has pounced on this as plain proof of forgery,⁴ and late (Antonine?) forgery at that.⁵ Nobody who knew what a *nobilis* was would call Favonius one. But is he here called that? Translators and historians, as innocent in such matters as the hypothetical forger, may think so.⁶ A number of considerations establish the contrary: (a) Even Sir Ronald's Antonine would surely know better than to call Favonius, as good a man in a riot as Cato himself, *inertissimus* (let alone Postumius). (b) The change of simile marks a change of category. (c) The second simile would scarcely suit the *nobiles*; they would not be thrown overboard as worthless by their fellows. (d) A little further on (11. 6) the *factio* is described as *homines nobiles cum paucis senatoriis*,⁷ *quos additamenta factionis habent*. Postumius, Favonius, and their like are the ignoble *senatorii* whom the *nobiles*, both leaders and *reliqui*, really despise and would readily sacrifice if it became convenient.

So I am afraid (for I should be as glad as anyone to see these miserable productions in limbo) that Syme's weapon has turned in his hand. So far from blundering egregiously the 'forger' knowledgeably distinguishes a vulgar Postumius from the apparently extinct⁸ Albini. To look now from the other

¹ The younger Spinther is listed above; he had received the *toga virilis* and the augurate in 57.

² Three times, if *Att.* 5. 21. 9 concerns the same man.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁴ *Mus. Helv.* xv (1958), 50 ff.

⁵ P. 54.

⁶ Syme cites H. Jordan, *De Suasoriis quas Ad Caesarem Senem de Re Publica inscribuntur commentatio* (Berlin 1868), pp. 26 f.; E. Meyer,

Caesars Monarchie, p. 571; L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar*, p. 156.

⁷ Syme's onslaught on this word (pp. 54 ff.) does not allow for a difference which I seem to feel between *senatores*, 'senators', and *senatorii*, 'men of (merely) senatorial standing' as opposed to *nobiles*.

⁸ Except for D. Brutus Albinus. His adoption makes it the more likely that the race was dying out.

angle: if the Epistle is genuine, Postumius was not *nobilis*; if it is forged, yet the forger on this point is probably correct.

CAESARIANS

- M. Acilius Glabrio (cf. 15, 16, 39).¹
 L. Aemilius Buca 37.²
 M. Aemilius Lepidus 73 (pr. 49, pont.).
 C. Antistius Reginus 39 (leg. 53-49?).³
 C. Antistius Vetus 47 (tr. pl. 56).⁴
 C. Antonius (Hibrida) 19 (cos. 63).
 C. Antonius 20 (q. 51?).
 L. Antonius 23 (q. 50).⁵
 M. Antonius 30 (tr. pl. 49, augur).
 M. Appuleius 2, 3, 14(?).⁶
 (Aurelius) Cotta (tr. pl. 49).⁷
 L. Calpurnius Bestia 24-25 (aedilicium).⁸

¹ Not quite certainly a Caesarian in 49. The evidence (not to be disentangled from Broughton, p. 285, n. 8) is complex. A coin proves that one M. Acilius Glabrio was proconsul of Africa in 25 (*P.I.R.*, Acilius, 71). In all probability he is the M. Acilius, cos. suff. 33, whose name comes in two epigraphic Fasti (Broughton, p. 414) without filiation or cognomen. Groag suggests that the 'M'. Glabrio' who pleaded for his uncle Scaurus in 54 (Ascon. (Clark) 28, 18) was this man's elder brother; but since Asconius' manuscripts give the praenomen as *M.* and only editors, after Manutius' conjecture, as *M'*., the two may be identified outright. The difficulty is to distinguish Glabrio from his contemporary M. (M'.?) Acilius Caninus, Caesar's legate at Oricum in 48. Which was the proconsul of Sicily to whom Cicero wrote letters of recommendation (*Fam.* 13. 30-39) in 46 and which the Acilius in *Graeciam cum legionibus missus* in 45, whom Cicero had twice defended on a capital charge (*ibid.* 7. 30, 3, 7. 31. 1; cf. 13. 50), remains obscure despite Dr. Grant's ingenious arguments (*From Imperium to Auctoritas*, pp. 17 and 26).

² Another pleader for Scaurus, probably a patrician relative. In 44 he issued coins with Caesar's portrait. Scaurus' condemnation in 53 supplies a motive to both Buca and Glabrio for hostility to Pompey.

³ For his role in the war cf. *Att.* 10. 12. 1, a passage ignored by Klebs (*R.E.*) and Broughton.

⁴ Cf. Broughton (p. 214, n. 2): 'It is extremely improbable that the Quaestor of 61 [*sic*!] and Tribune of 56 should be identified with the Consul Suffectus of 30, since Caesar made (*ἐποίησε*) the latter Quaestor (Plut. *Caes.* 5. 3), a process hardly within his power

in 61.' But Plutarch means that Caesar made Vetus his quaestor, i.e. chose him from among the rest. Selection of quaestors by their chiefs was not unheard of (Mommson, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 533, n. 4), and it is common sense to suppose that the latter could exercise some sort of influence on the lottery when they wished. Plutarch anyway may have supposed so. The Antistii make so good a show in the records as to suggest descent from the early republican family which produced at least one consular tribune, in 379 (*R.E.* 11). A Reginus was tribune in 103, Vetus' father was praetor. T. Antistius (q. 50, *R.E.* 22) might be included on Pompey's side, but Cicero says he was a Pompeian *malgré lui* (*Fam.* 13. 29. 3). Antistius Turpio (*R.E.* 43) is best ignored.

⁵ His activities during the war are not on record, but his whole career bespeaks support for Caesar.

⁶ See Broughton, pp. 274, 285, n. 4. Senatorial Appuleii abound from 173 on, and some of them probably claimed descent from Q. Appuleius Pansa, cos. 300. An augurate in 45 points to *nobilitas* since, unlike some of Caesar's augurs who lacked it (Vatinius, Cornificius, Hirtius, Pansa), Appuleius seems to have been young and inconspicuous (perhaps related, however, to the husband of Caesar's great-niece Octavia maior, the otherwise unknown Sex. Appuleius). Afzelius goes too far in arguing that the *novus homo* L. Saturninus (*R.E.* 30) was not an Appuleius; Schol. Bob. (Stangl, p. 153) says he was. He will have been collateral to the praetorian Appuleii Saturnini.

⁷ Not in *R.E.*; see Broughton, p. 258.

⁸ See R. G. Austin, *Pro Carilo*, p. 154. Catilinarian sympathies, exile in 56, and support of Antony in 43 place him.

- Q. Cassius 21 (senator?).¹
 L. Cassius Longinus 65 (monet. c. 52).
 Q. Cassius Longinus 70 (tr. pl. 49, augur).
 M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus 232.
 Ti. Claudius Nero 254.
 C. Claudius Pulcher 303 (pr. 56).²
 L. Cornelius Cinna 107.
 P. Cornelius Dolabella 141 (senator? xvvir sacr. fac.).
 P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus 232.
 Cn. (Cornelius) Lentulus Vatia 241 (cf. 209).³

¹ Legate of Q. Cassius Longinus in 48, so probably related. Pr. 44.

² Caesar's legate in 58, banished 52. In view of their connexion it seems unlikely that Caesar left him in exile. True, Cic. *Fam.* 11. 22. 1 implies that his son owed gratitude to Antony for his restoration, but that does not necessarily mean that it took place in 43: cf. *Att.* 10. 13. 1 (May 49) *hodie in Aenariam transire constituit* [sc. M. Antonius] *ut exulibus reditum polliceretur*.

³ The name is somewhat speculative. Dolabella's tribunate in 47 proves that he had become a plebeian (by adoption) no later than September 48. Dio (42. 9. 1) in fact says that he did this in order to make himself eligible for the office—the precedents of Clodius and P. Sulpicius Rufus lay to hand. But he may possibly have had a financial motive: cf. Cic. *Att.* 7. 8. 3 (26 December 50) *Dolabellam video Liviae testamento cum duobus coheredibus esse in triente, sed iuberi mutare nomen. est πολυτὸν ὀκέμματα, rectumne sit nobili adulescenti mutare nomen mulieris testamento. sed ἡ φιλοσοφώτερον διευκρινήσωμεν cum sciemus quantum quasi sit in trientis triente*. Dolabella then, as a condition of inheritance, would have had to pass into another family—perhaps that of Livia's husband, since women could not adopt. From Dio's statement, however, it looks as though the adoption did not take place until 48, so perhaps Livia's condition was refused.

Anyone prepared to adopt so active a Caesarian in 49–48, especially for a political reason, was in all probability a Caesarian himself. But the identity of the adoptive parent has always been a puzzle. Until his death Dolabella was ordinarily called by his former name (so always by Cicero), but Asconius (Clark, p. 5. 10) calls him, anachronistically as it would seem, P. Lentulus (*Cicero filium post mortem Pisonis generi P. Lentulo collocavit*), Plutarch (*Cic.* 41. 4) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 2. 3. 3) call him Lentulus, Cicero calls his and Tullia's son *Lentulus* (*puer* (*Att.* 12. 28. 3, 12. 30. 1)). Accordingly, it is and must be supposed that the

plebeian who adopted him was a Lentulus; an explanation which Münzer (*R.E.* iv. 1302) calls unsatisfactory, 'zumal da sicher plebeische Lentuli nicht nachweisbar sind', while adding that no better has been found. It is true that Willems' theory about the plebeian status of Lentulus Spinther and Lentulus Marcellinus (coss. 57 and 56) has been thoroughly exploded, nor would either be a possible adoptive father for Dolabella. But look at Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2. 3. 5 which Mr. Watt prints thus: *a. d. iii Id. Febr. Sestius ab indice Cn. Nerio Pupinia (de) ambitu est postulatus . . . sed idem Nerius index dedit ad allegatos*† Cn. Lentulum Vatiem et C. Cornelium † *ista ei*†. *eodem die et* sqq. MS. variants suggest that the archetype had *stari*. Watt thinks this a *locus desperatus*, though tentatively suggesting that *ista ei* may conceal *sesti*. Far more probable, indeed convincing, are two emendations recorded in his apparatus. The first is Turnebus' *edidit alligatos*, 'named as witnesses' (the rare word *alligati* is explained by Isidore, *Orig.* 5. 23). The second is *Stellatina et* (or rather *stā et*; cf. *Rev. des Études Lat.* xi [1933], 138 ff.)—one of Constans' occasional flashes. The unwonted mention of the informer Nerius' tribe is to be explained by its relevance to the accusation of bribery and calls for similar mention in the case of the supporting witnesses. Further corroboration comes from an inscription revealing that one C. Cornelius of the tribe Stellatina (*R.E.* 17) was a senator in or about 104, the father it may be of the C. Cornelius mentioned by Cicero. It is not impossible that this latter Cornelius was the anti-optimate tribune of 67. At any rate both he and Lentulus Vatia must have been *populares* to attack that staunch champion of the *boni*, P. Sestius, in 56. Also they will have been plebeians; for only plebeians elected tribunes, and the bribery charged against Sestius must have concerned the tribunician elections in 58. Lentulus' name adds to the evidence, Vatia being the cognomen of the leading plebeian family in the Gens Servilia, borne by the elder Isauricus and by others before and

- P. Cornelius Sulla 386 (cos. desig. 65).¹
 C. Didius 2.²
 Cn. Domitius 11.³
 Cn. Domitius Calvinus 43 (cos. 53).
 Q. Fabius Maximus Sanga 108, 143 (praetorius).⁴
 M. Furius Bibaculus 37.⁵
 Furius Crassipes 54.⁶
 Q. Hortensius 8 (senator).
 Sex. Julius Caesar 152-3 (*flamen quirinalis*).
 D. Junius Brutus Albinus 55a (q. 50?).
 M. Junius Silanus 171-2 (leg. 53).⁷
 L. (Juventius) Laterensis 15.
 M. Licinius Crassus 56 (q. 54, pont.).⁸
 L. Marcus Censorinus 48.
 L. (Marcus) Figulus 64.⁹
 L. Marcus Philippus 77 (tr. pl. 49, augur).¹⁰
 Q. (Marcus) Philippus 83 (senator).¹¹
 Q. Mucius Scaevola 23 (tr. pl. 54, augur).¹²
 C. Norbanus Flaccus 9a.
 C. Papirius Carbo 35 (pr. 62).¹³
 L. Pinarus Scarpus 24.¹⁴

after him. No other gens, except the Cerrinii at Pompeii, is known to have used it—H. Gundel's statement (*R.E.* viii A. 489), that the Corneli did so, rests (errors of reference corrected) only on the case of this Lentulus, which is clearly one of adoption. The elastic practice of the period allowed an adopted son to keep his former name in ordinary use with the new cognomen attached (cf. D. Junius Brutus Albinus), though he could also (and usually did) attach the old cognomen to the new nomen, like Metellus Scipio or Caepio Brutus. So far then as the name goes Lentulus Vatia might be a patrician Cornelius adopted by a plebeian Servilius or vice versa, but reason has now been seen to believe the former. His adoptive father may have been C. Servilius Vatia (*R.E.* 91). Münzer's suggested identification with *Ἀνδρῶς Βαρίας* of Plut. *Crass.* 8. 2 (= Cn. Lentulus of Oros. 5. 24. 1), who owned a school of gladiators at Capua in 73, is extremely plausible. There would be nothing surprising in a nobleman's holding such a property—Caesar had a school in Capua in 49 and was planning to build another (Suet. *Iul.* 31. 1).

Here then is a plebeian Lentulus, the only one of whose existence we have any trace, of the right political colour (add that his presumptive connexion, P. Servilius Isauricus the younger, was a leading Caesarian). The fact that Lentulus was by birth a patrician of Dolabella's own gens might in itself account for the choice. For a similar reason

Dolabella will have preferred to use the first of his new father's two cognomina—Lentulus, rather than the plebeian Vatia—and to pass it on to his son.

¹ Presumably his son (*R.E.* 387) also followed Caesar.

² Leg. 46. The name is so rare under the Republic that his descent from T. Didius, cos. 98, is probable.

³ Curio's *praefectus equitum* in 49. That he was an Ahenobarbus and/or praetor in 54 remains conjectural.

⁴ Münzer's objections to identification seem to me wholly inconclusive.

⁵ Author of the *Annales Belli Gallici*: cf. Skutsch, *R.E.* vii. 321 f.

⁶ Apparently deserted Pompey in March 49 (*Cic. Att.* 9. 11. 3).

⁷ No reason that I can see to distinguish between Caesar's legate in 53 and Lepidus' *σπαραγῶς* in 43 (cos. 25). Both positions indicate support for Caesar in between.

⁸ See below, p. 12, n. 8.

⁹ Commanded a fleet for Dolabella in 43, so probably a Caesarian.

¹⁰ Support for Caesar in the senate (*Caes. B.C.* 1. 6. 4) and a praetorship in 44 show where he stood.

¹¹ See Broughton, p. 289.

¹² Cf. *Cic. Att.* 9. 9. 3.

¹³ Condemned for extortion in 59; but Cicero's phrase (*Fam.* 9. 21. 3) *de hoc amico meo* implies that he was back in Italy by 46, so presumably reinstated by Caesar.

¹⁴ No direct evidence for the Civil War;

- P. Plautius Hypsaecus 23 (praetorius).¹
 C. Scribonius Curio 11 (tr. pl. 50, pont.).
 L. Sempronius Atratinus 26.²
 C. (Servilius) Casca 52.³
 P. Servilius Casca Longus 53.⁴
 P. Servilius Isauricus 67 (pr. 54, augur?).
 Ser. Sulpicius Galba 61 (pr. 54, augur).⁵
 P. Sulpicius Rufus 93 (leg. 55-49).
 Ser. Sulpicius Rufus 96.⁶
 M. Terentius Varro Gibba 89.⁷
 M. Valerius Messalla Rufus 268 (cos. 53, augur).⁸
 L. Volcatius Tullus.⁹

The list of 'neutrals' is brief but brilliant. In some cases 'neutrality' or support for Caesar might be a matter of interpretation:

- M'. Aemilius Lepidus 62 (cos. 66).¹⁰
 L. Aemilius (Lepidus) Paullus 81 (cos. 50).¹¹
 L. Aurelius Cotta 102 (cos. 65, cens. 64).¹²
 L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus 90 (cos. 58, cens. 50).¹³

but Caesar's grandnephew and heir, placed by Antony in command of a legion in 42. Cf. his coheir Q. Pedius.

¹ Nothing known for certain after his condemnation in 52, but Münzer's proposed identification with the senator P. Plautius mentioned by Josephus as witness to the Jewish decree of 44 is satisfactory. Caesar will have reinstated him. Hypsaecus had particularly good reasons for hostility to his former patron Pompey (Val. Max. 9. 5. 3, Plut. *Pomp.* 55. 5).

² Born 73, son of L. Calpurnius Bestia. A leading adherent of Antony after Philippi (cos. suff. 34). Caesarian proclivities follow.

³ Tr. pl. 44.

⁴ Tr. pl. 43. That one Casca was of Caesar's party is clear from Appian, *B.C.* 2. 113 *ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Κάσκαρος . . . Γάϊον Κάσκαν*, and the same can be assumed for the other. Their *nobilitas* appears thus: C. Servilius Casca (*R.E.* 51) figures as tribune in 212 in an episode narrated by Livy (25. 3. 14-18). Münzer very plausibly suggests that he is identical with C. Servilius Geminus (*R.E.* 60). 60), cos. 203—all the more plausibly because a plebeian Servilius other than the sons of C. Geminus, cos. 220, would be hard to account for at this time. But his inference that the cognomen Casca, which occurs three times in Livy, is 'eine unberechtigte Zutat' is altogether improbable, and needless to boot. C. Geminus, cos. 203, whose name appears in the *Fasti Capitolini* simply as C. Servilius, could have been called Casca as his brother Marcus, cos. 202 (*R.E.* 78), was called Pulex (a fact

known only from the *Fasti*): cf. the Cornelius Scipio brothers, Hispallus and Nasica, or the Postumius Albinus brothers, Tempsanus and Magnus. The cognomen Geminus is not afterwards attested in either line of descent. Our Cascae then will have descended from C. Servilius Casca Geminus, cos. 203, through his son, C. Servilius (Casca), aed. pl. 173 (*R.E.* 9), and, probably, the *adulescens* Casca of Varro, *L.L.* 7. 28.

⁵ His sons (conjectured), Servius (*R.E.* 20, monet. 54?) and Gaius (*R.E.* 52), were presumably on the same side.

⁶ Sent by his father (cos. 51) to Caesar's camp in March 49 *ad effugendum Cn. Pompeium aut certe capiendum* (Cic. *Att.* 9. 19. 2).

⁷ Q. 46, tr. pl. 43. Presumably *persona grata* to Caesar since Cicero made him his messenger in 48 (or 47; *Fam.* 13. 10. 3).

⁸ His son (*R.E.* 254), monet. 53, probably died young, since he adopted No. 260.

⁹ Pr. 46, cos. 33, and son of the homonymous consul of 66, sent by him to join Caesar in 49 (Cic. *Att.* 10. 3 a 2).

¹⁰ Though at first Pompeian in sympathy, he remained in Italy and attended Caesar's senate in April 49 (Cic. *Att.* 8. 15. 2, 9. 1.2).

¹¹ Allegedly bought by Caesar in 50. Not mentioned in the war.

¹² Related to Caesar's mother and seemingly for that reason passed over, along with L. Philippus, in the Senate's allocation of commands in January 49 (Caes. *B.C.* 1. 65). For his adherence to Caesar in 44 cf. Klebs, *R.E.*

¹³ Caesar's father-in-law and an advocate of peace.

- C. Claudius Marcellus 214 (pr. 80, augur).¹
 C. Claudius Marcellus 216 (cos. 50).²
 L. Julius Caesar 143 (cos. 64).³
 L. Marcius Philippus 76 (cos. 56).⁴
 M. Perperna 5 (cos. 92, cens. 86).⁵
 P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus 93 (cos. 79, cens. 55).⁶
 A. Terentius Varro Murena 91.⁷

Some *nobiles* remain unplaced for lack of information. The following were probably or certainly alive and of active age:

- Aelius Ligus 83 (tr. pl. 58).⁸
 Paullus Aemilius Lepidus 82 (monet. c. 55).⁹
 M. Aemilius Scaurus 141 (pr. 56, pont.).¹⁰
 M'. Aquillius Crassus 16 (senator).¹¹
 P. Aquillius Gallus 25 (tr. pl. 55).¹²
 Sex. Atilius Serranus Gavianus 70 (tr. pl. 57).¹³
 L. Claudius 21 (rex sacrorum).¹⁴
 C. Coelius Caldus 14 (q. 50).
 L. Cornelius Lentulus 196.¹⁵
 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus 217 (cf. 205; pr. 59).¹⁶
 L. Cornelius Merula 273.¹⁷
 P. Cornelius Scipio.¹⁸
 (Cornelius) Sisenna 371.¹⁹
 Q. (Fulvius) Flaccus 63.²⁰
 M. Fulvius Nobilior 94.²¹
 L. Gellius Publicola 18.
 M. Juventius Laterensis 16 (pr. 51).²²
 Juventius Thalna 27.
 P. Licinius Crassus Dives 71 (pr. 57).²³

¹ Alive in 51, but no doubt too old for active politics.

² Married Caesar's great-niece. For his unheroic attitude see Münzer (who, however, misled by corruptions in the text of Cic. *Att.* 8. 12A. 4, confuses him with his cousin Marcus (*R.E.* iii. 2735. 60 ff.).)

³ Caesar's legate 52-49 and Antony's uncle. Despite Münzer (*R.E.* x. 469. 66 ff.) there is nothing to be said for the idea that he joined Pompey in 49. In view of his nomination by Antony as *praefectus urbis* in 47 he should perhaps rather be reckoned a Caesarian.

⁴ Husband of Caesar's niece. For his neutrality in 49 cf. Cic. *Att.* 10. 4. 10.

⁵ Died early in 49, allegedly aged 98.

⁶ About 85 years old in 49.

⁷ Münzer deduces a neutral attitude from *Caes. B.C.* 3. 19. 3.

⁸ A supporter of Clodius.

⁹ Cos. suff. 34. Probably either a 'neutral' like his father (cos. 50) or a Caesarian.

¹⁰ Nothing known after his exile in 53,

which gave him good reason to hate Pompey.

¹¹ Pr. 43. Praenomen suggests descent from consular Aquillii.

¹² Opposed Pompey and Crassus in 55. *Nobilitas* not quite certain.

¹³ A hireling of Clodius in 57.

¹⁴ Mention in 57.

¹⁵ Last mentioned in 54.

¹⁶ Lost to view after his praetorship.

¹⁷ Alive about 57 (Varro, *R.R.* 3. 2. 2).

¹⁸ Not in *R.E.* Cos. suff. 35? See Broughton, p. 406.

¹⁹ Stepson (or adopted son?) of A. Gabinus (cos. 58): see Münzer, *R.E.* Presumably a Caesarian if he lived.

²⁰ A supporter of Milo in 57. But the nomen is far from certain.

²¹ Exiled in 54. Possibly the 'Furnius' of *Att.* 11. 8. 2 (cf. *Towards a text of Cic. ad Att.*, p. 52), and in any case probably a Caesarian if alive.

²² Probably a Pompeian, despite Münzer, *R.E.* x. 1367. 2 ff.

²³ Last heard of in 57.

- C. Licinius Stolo 162.¹
 M. Livius Drusus Claudianus 19 (pr. 50?).²
 Q. Pompeius Rufus 41 (tr. pl. 52).³
 Popilius Laenas 15.⁴
 C. Porcius Cato 6 (tr. pl. 56).⁵
 Sex. Quintilius Varus (pr. 57).⁶
 C. Sempronius (Asellio?) Rufus 79 (praetorius?).⁷
 M. Sempronius Rutilus 82 (leg.⁸ 52).
 M. Servilius 20-21(?)⁹
 P. Servilius Rullus 80 (tr. pl. 63).¹⁰
 M. Valerius Messalla 255.¹¹

Members of senatorial families, neither *nobiles* nor according to ordinary usage *novi homines*, will complete the picture. Evidence for these is naturally very defective, and I only mention partisans of one side or the other. An asterisk shows praetorian ancestry:

POMPEIANS

- C. Considius Longus 11 (praetorius).¹²
 M. Considius Nonianus 13 (pr. 52).
 *C. Considius Paetus 14.¹³
 C. Coponius 3 (pr. 49).
 *C. Decimius 2.
 D. Laelius 6 (tr. pl. 54).¹⁴
 L. Lucceius 6 (pr. 67).¹⁵
 C. Lucilius Hirrus 25 (tr. pl. 53).¹⁶
 Q. Lucretius Vespillo 36 (senator).
 *P. Nigidius Figulus 3 (pr. 58).¹⁷
 *M. Nonius Sufenas 52 (praetorius).
 Plaetorius Rustianus 19.
 Q. Pompeius Bithynicus 25 (q. 74).
 *M. Rubrius 13.¹⁸

¹ Apparently a youngish man c. 57.

² His anti-senatorial activity in 59 (Cic. *Att.* 2. 7. 3), the circumstances of his trial in 54, his presence in Italy in 47, and his daughter's marriages suggest support for Caesar.

³ Banished Clodian, alive in 51.

⁴ Senator in 44, apparently on friendly terms with Caesar.

⁵ *Turbulentus adulescens*, last heard of in 54.

⁶ Father, no doubt, of the Pompeian quaestor.

⁷ Exiled in 51, probably recalled by Antony in 44.

⁸ Under Caesar in Gaul.

⁹ Tr. pl. 43.

¹⁰ Associated with Caesar in his tribunate, not afterwards heard of. For his claim to *nobilitas* cf. Cic. *Agr.* 2. 19. His son (?) supported Octavian against Antony in 40.

¹¹ Cos. suff. 32.

¹² The standing of the Considii at this period (cf. Q. Considius, *R.E.* 7) suggests senatorial ancestry, though the only earlier trace is the tribunate of Q. Considius (*R.E.* 6) in 476.

¹³ Son of Longus.

¹⁴ See above, p. 256. Senatorial descent is unproved, but *R.E.* 4 and 5 were persons of some consequence.

¹⁵ Included on the strength of his apparently good social status (candidature for the consulship and friendship with Pompey) and the record of a L. Lucceius (not his father) as legate c. 92 (*R.E.* 4).

¹⁶ Probably son of Antonius' legate in 102 (Broughton, i. 569). His aunt Lucilia was *stirpis senatoriae* (Vell. 2. 29. 2).

¹⁷ Cf. C. Nigidius (*R.E.* 1), pp. 145 (?).

¹⁸ By Münzer's conjecture son of a praetor (*R.E.* 4). But I do not include *R.E.* 11 on Pompey's side or *R.E.* 5 on Caesar's.

- *L. Scribonius Libo 20 (praetorius).
- *C. Sentius 4 (senator?).
- P. Sestius 6 (praetorius).
- *Sextilius 4.¹
- *Q. Sicinius 12 (monet. 49).²
- C. Valerius Triarius 365.
- Voconius (praetorius).³

CAESARIANS

- *L. Autronius Paetus 6.⁴
- *M. Calidius 4 (pr. 57).
- *L. Caninius Gallus 3 (tr. pl. 56).⁵
- *C. Caninius Rebilus 9 (leg. 52-49).
- L. Canuleius 8.
- *C. Carrinas 2.
- Cassius Barba.⁶
- L. Cornificius 5.⁷
- *Q. Cornificius 8.
- *C. Cosconius 5 (pr. 54?).
- *A. Fonteius 5.⁸
- Q. Fufius Calenus 10 (pr. 59).⁹
- *A. Gabinus 11 cos. 58.¹⁰
- *L. Livineius Regulus 3.
- * (Lollius) Palicanus 20.¹¹
- Marcus Rufus 94 (q. 49).¹²
- *C. Memmius 10 (monet. 51).¹³
- L. Minucius Basilus 38 (q. 55?, leg. 53-48).¹⁴
- L. Munatius Plancus 30 (leg. 54-46).¹⁵
- T. Munatius Plancus Bursa 32 (tr. pl. 52).

¹ Evidently a man of note (Cic. *Att.* 14. 6. 1, 14. 10. 2). Two praetors of the gens (*R.E.* 3 and 12) held office in 68 and 88. Descent from C. Sextilius, consular tribune 379, is possible.

² Cf. Cn. Sicinius (*R.E.* 8), pr. 183 and 172. ³ Cf. Cic. *Att.* 8. 15. 3.

⁴ Cos. suff. 33. As son of the exiled Catilinarian (cos. desig. 65) he can be assumed to have been of Caesar's party.

⁵ Cicero's obituary notice in 44, *hominem, quod ad me attinet, non ingratum* (*Att.* 16. 14. 4) suggests a Caesarian. Descent from praetorian Caninii conjectural.

⁶ Not in *R.E.* Cf. Cic. *Att.* 13. 52.1, *Phil.* 13. 3. Perhaps son of Lucullus' legate Barba (Broughton, 112).

⁷ Tr. pl. 43, cos. 35. Earlier career unknown, but his accusation of Brutus for Caesar's murder in 43 makes his party clear.

⁸ Tr. mil. 46. Connexion with praetorian Fonteii unproved, but the name does not seem to have spread widely under the Republic.

⁹ Senatorial descent unproved, but his father (Cic. *Phil.* 8. 13) and brother (? *Verr.* 2. 2. 23) seem to have been men of consequence. An ancestor may have sponsored the Lex Fufia of c. 153.

¹⁰ 'About Gabinus' origin nothing is known.' So Syme (*Rom. Rev.*, p. 31), with the conjecture that he came from Picenum. But the Gabinii were an established senatorial family, and if the consul's beginnings had been humble we should have heard of them from Cicero. He may have been son of a praetor (*R.E.* 9).

¹¹ By Münzer's conjecture son of M. Lollius Palicanus, pr. 69 (?).

¹² Probably son of Q. Marcus Rufus (*R.E.* 95), Crassus' legate in 71.

¹³ Cos. suff. 34. His exiled father was Pompey's enemy. Hence presumably a Caesarian.

¹⁴ Apparently of senatorial family (by adoption); cf. *R.E.* 37 and 39.

¹⁵ See Münzer, *R.E.*, Munatius 5.

*Sex. Peducaeus 6 (tr. pl. 55).

C. Plaetorius 5.

L. Plotius Plancus 10 (Munatius 26).¹

Pompeius Bithynicus 26.²

L. Roscius Fabatus 15 (pr. 49).³

C. Sextilius Rufus 23.⁴

*C. Volcatius Tullus (leg. 53-48?).

In reality then the nobility seems to have been fairly evenly divided so far as numbers go, the greater length of the Caesarian list (55, to 40 Pompeians) being offset by a somewhat larger infusion of questionable names. Available data on the thirty unplaced do not suggest that Pompey would gain by their inclusion; nor is the number of the totally unrecorded likely to have been very considerable. Caste loyalty seems to have had little to do with a nobleman's choice of sides in this civil war. It might have been expected to flower in the colleges of pontifices and augurs, citadels of aristocracy which Cicero in 59 longed vainly to penetrate.⁵ The augural list at the outbreak of war has been restored with only one missing member.⁶ Two out of fourteen, Pompey and Cicero, did not belong to the old nobility, and age will have kept C. Marcellus (pr. 80) neutral. Of the remaining eleven, three were for Pompey and seven for Caesar, or, if L. Caesar be reckoned a Caesarian, eight.⁷ The pontifices are less fully available. Caesar, the head of the college, was supported by at least four,⁸ Pompey by at least five. It does not follow that Cicero's claim of superior *dignitas* for his party is untrue, though it seems to be exaggerated. Against two Pompeian consuls and nine consulars⁹ Caesar could pit only four consulars, three of whom had fallen foul of the law-courts. But the ten 'neutral' consulars¹⁰ are not to be forgotten. Several had at least one foot in Caesar's camp. Twenty Pompeian praetors or praetorii have been listed above against twelve of the same rank for Caesar (three of them recalled exiles).

¹ By birth C. Munatius Plancus.

² Apparently praetor in 45, though son of a Pompeian.

³ Senatorial descent indicated by his praetorship, taken together with that of L. Roscius Otho in 63 (?). A L. Roscius was moneyer c. 103.

⁴ Q. 47.

⁵ *Att.* 2. 5. 2 [auguratus] *quo quidem uno ego ab istis capi possum*. It is true that the restoration of the Lex Domitia in 63 affected the composition of the colleges politically; the contest between Domitius and Antony for the augurate in 50 was fought on party lines (Cic. [Caelius] *Fam.* 8. 14. 1).

⁶ Broughton, pp. 254 f.

⁷ See above, p. 261, n. 3.

⁸ Including M. Licinius Crassus, whose name appears almost at the bottom of the list in Cic. *Har. Resp.* 12, which refers to September 57. Since the list seems to be in order of inauguration into the college (cf. L. R. Taylor, *A.J.P.* lxiii [1942], 385 ff.), this Crassus in view of his juniority will be the son rather than the father (cos. 70; cf. Taylor,

op. cit., pp. 392 f.). True, he is followed by C. Curio, usually thought to be the consul of 76. His son was a pontifex in 50 (Dio 40. 62.1) and is supposed to have succeeded him in the college. But the only evidence that he did is Cic. *Fam.* 2. 7. 3 *de sacerdotio tuo quantam curam adhibuerim quamque difficili in re atque causa cognosces ex iis litteris quas Thraso liberto tuo dedi*. This was written from Cilicia to the younger Curio in December 51. The elder Curio died in 53, probably quite early in the year (*Fam.* 2. 2). His successor ought to have been elected in July 53, though the disorders of the time may have caused delay. At any rate the matter would be ancient history by the end of 51. If therefore Cicero's reference is to Curio's pontificate, it still does not prove anything as to the date of his election. But it makes better sense to suppose that *sacerdotium* is some other priesthood on which Curio had his eye.

⁹ All *nobiles* except Cicero and Afranius.

¹⁰ Add to the *nobiles* L. Volcatius Tullus (cos. 66), who sent his son to join Caesar at Brundisium.

Nine more can be added for Pompey,¹ five or six for Caesar.² Information about the lower magistracies is too scanty to be worth presenting in detail, but it may be noted that Caesarian tribunes and tribunicii are numerous (upwards of twenty against six Pompeians). It is to be remembered that the Pompeian party rested on a coalition between Pompey and his adherents on the one hand and the *factio* of dominant nobles grouped around Cato on the other. That *factio* had to a great extent maintained its hold on the centuries, which returned consuls and praetors, even during the triumviral period.³

Among Caesarian *nobiles* the sons of proscribed Marians and the victims of the law-courts form two notable groups. Cinna, Marcius Censorinus, Norbanus, and, not impossibly, P. Sulpicius Rufus⁴ belong to the first; C. Antonius (cos. 63), Bestia, C. Claudius Pulcher, P. Sulla, Carbo, Plautius Hypsaecus, and Messalla to the second. For them adherence to Caesar, the champion of the dispossessed and the restorer of exiles, was dictated. Yet children of Marians and former Catilinarian sympathizers (Antonius, Bestia, Sulla) were natural Caesarians. In Pompey's camp also personal motives were rampant. An effulgent name might cover an (in Cato's eyes) unedifying political past. Personal ties with Pompey or personal fear of Caesar brought in Metellus Scipio and App. Claudius. The Marcelli, if Cicero is to be believed, would have stayed behind but for fear of Caesar's sword.⁵ Lentulus Spinther was an old friend of Caesar, to whom he owed his pontificate and other advancement.⁶ Caesar had hopes of the financially embarrassed Lentulus Crus who, like his colleague C. Marcellus, was less stable than a feather or a leaf.⁷ Cicero himself was apt to declare that only gratitude drew him to Pompey.⁸ Debts and greed of plunder were rife on both sides.

Young men, free of parental control, tended to look to Caesar. Not all of them were scoundrels. To Cicero natural depravity explained Curio and Hortensius.⁹ A less partial judgement may allow for the attraction of Caesar's personality, even for a generous impatience with the rottenness and inefficiency of existing constitutional forms. The blameless Nero stands beside the vicious but seductive Dolabella.

It is not implied that there was really nothing for an optimiate to choose in the struggle of dynasts. I do not doubt that Cato saw himself as fighting the battle of the republic and of his order, and that he was right so far. At bottom Cicero's convictions were much the same. But in 49 there were good excuses for hesitation. The unity of the optimates whom Sulla had led to victory did not last. Dominance of a *factio*—the *pauci* of Cicero's early speeches, with Catulus, the Luculli, Metellus Creticus, and Hortensius in the forefront—along with the personal and family jockeying endemic to senatorial rule had left little in the way of class loyalty. Miss Taylor has remarked that of the twenty consuls of 69–60 (including sixteen *nobiles* and only two *novi*) only four can be put down as consistent

¹ M. Petreius (*R.E.* 3), T. Labienus (*R.E.* 6), C. Vergilius (*R.E.* 3), Q. Tullius Cicero (*R.E.* 3), T. Ampius Balbus (*R.E.* 1), L. Caecilius Rufus (*R.E.* 110), T. Annius Milo (*R.E.* 67), P. Attius Varus (*R.E.* 32), M. Favonius (*R.E.* 1).

² P. Vatinius (*R.E.* 3), L. Flavius (*R.E.* 17), Q. Valerius Orca (*R.E.* 280), P. Silius (? *R.E.* 8), A. Allienus (*R.E.* 1), C. Sosius (*R.E.* 2).

³ L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics*, etc., c. iii.

⁴ Son of a Publius, so possibly the tribune of 88; in that case not the quaestor of 69 (*R.E.* 15; cf. Broughton, p. 132 and Index).

⁵ *Att.* 9. 1. 4.

⁶ *Caes. B.C.* 1. 22. 3f.

⁷ *Cic. Att.* 8. 9. 4, 8. 15. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.* 8. 1. 4, 9. 5. 3, 9. 7. 3, 9. 19. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.* 10. 4. 6.

optimates.¹ As for the war itself, the confusion of origins, means, and aims reflected in Cicero's contemporary letters enveloped it in a Trojan mist. Tyrrell-Purser cite Bacon: 'Let a man look into the errors of Cicero, painted out by his own pencil in his Epistles to Atticus, and he will fly apace from being irresolute.' Yet Cicero was resolute enough in 63 and 43; and Sulpicius Rufus' letters would surely have presented a like picture.² These were men of thought; not so the vast majority of the senate, who a few weeks before Caesar crossed the Rubicon went a long way towards endorsing his case by supporting Curio's motion to end both the great commands against the violent protest of a consul who himself lapsed into terror-struck neutrality as soon as fighting started. Amidst political fragmentation and perplexity the choice of the individual *nobilis* will mostly have depended on personal relations or the accidents of circumstance.

So the historian turns to, or into, the prosopographer. The researches of Münzer and Syme fascinate and fructify. A modern study of republican affairs is likely to abound in aristocratic names, linked (sometimes tenuously) by *cognatio*, *adfinitas*, and *amicitia*. Granted the importance of those factors and the admiration due to great pioneers,³ I would plead for caution. It is one thing to acknowledge a non-party basis for Roman politics, another to reconstruct it. Even for the Ciceronian age⁴ prosopographical data are defective and haphazard. Above all, family tradition and connexions counted for much less and purely personal factors, usually untraceable, for much more than Münzer for one cared to admit. So at least the names above assembled seem to me to imply.

To start with, I can see no sufficient evidence to support the political grouping of the nobility at this time, personal alliances apart, in wider units than the family. A distinction is sometimes advanced between patrician and plebeian *nobiles*.⁵ But the facts hardly bear out the notion that patricians were especially numerous or prominent in Caesar's party. Among his 55 *nobiles* nineteen⁶ (including one of consular and five of praetorian rank) are patricians; among Pompey's forty, fourteen⁷ (five of consular rank, two of praetorian). Neither is there any proof of cohesion by nomen or cognomen (where the latter extends to more than one branch). Aurelii Cottae, Cassii Longini, Claudii Marcelli and Pulchri, Cornelii Lentuli and Sullae, Licinii Crassi, and Sulpicii Rufi appear in both lists.⁸

Hereditary sympathies will have played their part but, on the evidence, it was strikingly small. Apart from sons of the proscribed, who could do no other,

¹ *Party Politics*, etc., p. 224. ² *Att.* 10. 14.

³ Not merely a polite phrase. Most of Münzer's work, especially in *R.E.*, is solid and indispensable; a paper such as this could not be written without it. And no desert island would be desirable without that dazzling, venerable, wise, and sometimes exasperating classic, *The Roman Revolution*.

⁴ Let alone earlier periods, e.g. 220-150 B.C.

⁵ Syme, *Rom. Rev.*, p. 68. Cf. p. 69: 'The patricians were loyal to tradition without being fettered by caste or principle' et sqq. L. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 123: 'Caesar was already strong in influence with his own patrician class—more inclined than the plebeian nobles to try radical attitudes.'

⁶ Including P. Sulpicius Rufus (doubtful), D. Brutus Albinus (plebeian by birth), and

Cn. Lentulus Vatia (plebeian by adoption). There was also Caesar himself. Incidentally I cannot follow Miss Taylor in her belief that Caesar's nobility, like that of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus ('though in a less degree') was 'dug from ancient records'. Of the two branches of the gens Julia officially in evidence since the beginning of the second century his, the younger, was naturally the less prominent; but his father and great-grandfather were praetors and his father's brother consul. His mother belonged to the prominent and plebeian Aurelii Cottae. A similar remark about Cinna (p. 21) ignores his father's consulate.

⁷ Including Caepio Brutus (plebeian by birth) and Metellus Scipio (plebeian by adoption).

⁸ Two branches of the Cornelii, the

M. Lepidus, son of the revolutionary consul of 78, supported Caesar, and his brother Paullus (a good optimate before 51) at least did not oppose him. M. Crassus was the son of an old associate, and the ambiguous record of L. Marcius Philippus (cos. 91) could seem reflected in the 'neutrality' of his son (cos. 56). Caesar's own Marian affiliations are well known. But his right wing at Pharsalia was commanded by a kinsman, perhaps a nephew, of Sulla. D. Brutus, Domitius Calvinus, Curio, and Servilius Isauricus were the sons of Sullan lieutenants, Scaevola (?) and the brothers Antonii¹ grandsons of Marian victims. The fathers of Hortensius and Lentulus Marcellinus were leading optimates. In the other camp are found Ahenobarbus, whose brother, and Caecio Brutus, whose father, were Marians slain by Pompey; and rumour held Pompey responsible for the death of Cn. Piso, Catiline's reputed ally in 66-65, whose son proved himself a persistent republican. It is suitable that a Pompeius Rufus should fight at Thapsus against Caesar; but the grandson of Sulla's colleague (and of Sulla himself) was a Clodian tribune, whom Caesar (once married to his sister) probably recalled from the exile to which Pompey had sent him. L. Caesar the elder, whose father was murdered by the Marians, accepted office in 47 from his nephew Antony, who later proscribed him; the Caesarians killed his son in Africa. *gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum*. The Antonii held together, but not the Cassii (Lucius and Gaius), Pulchri (?), and Marcelli.² P. Sulla's half-brother, Caecilius Rufus, was for Pompey. Lepidus was to proscribe his brother Paullus; twenty years earlier a Cethegus had voted for his brother's execution.

Marriage, in Rome as elsewhere, could be political. Münzer's study of the Catonian circle³ is illuminating. Yet, where political implications are not independently attested, *μέμνωσ' ἀποτειν*. Two of Cato's three nieces, daughters of Servilia, married Caesarians.⁴ Cato's (and Hortensius') own Marcia⁵ belonged to the pro-Caesarian Philippi. Not all marriages were politically significant (Tullia's husbands seem to have been selected on purely social and personal grounds); not all that were have come to light. If we had the full particulars, it is likely that nearly every member of the numerically small and inbred Roman aristocracy would be found in some sort of connexion with nearly every other. Feminine influence existed—Servilia could promise the amendment of a senatus-consultum in 44.⁶ But finding political history in the matrimonial proliferations of her family is like reading in the sand where a scorpion has wandered.⁷

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Scipiones and the Lentuli, stood by the oligarchy⁸ (Syme, op. cit., p. 69). Against Spinther and Crus (and their sons) set Marcellinus, Vatia, Dolabella (Lentulus). As for Scipiones, the only one besides Metellus of whom anything is known is more likely than not to have been a Caesarian in view of his triumphal consulship (see above, p. 261, n. 18).

¹ Catilinarian connexions (Hibrida, Lentulus Sura) to be remembered.

² Sometimes, says Syme (op. cit., p. 64), such divisions 'will be explained . . . by deliberate choice, to safeguard the wealth and standing of the family, whatever the event.' I cannot contradict him; but the consequences for what I may call Münzerianism are none the less devastating.

³ *Römische Adelsparteien*, pp. 328 ff.

⁴ Servilius Isauricus and Lepidus.

⁵ Daughter of the consul of 56.

⁶ *Cic. Att.* 15. 11. 2.

⁷ An example: The Luculli and the elder Isauricus, formerly enemies, were friends in 56 (*Cic. Prov. Cons.* 22). L. Lucullus married Servilia's sister in 65, the younger Isauricus married her daughter about 60. 'So war sie es, die dessen Vater und ihren Schwager miteinander versöhnte und gegen Pompeius, den Mörder ihres ersten Gatten, einigte' (Münzer, op. cit., p. 358). Possibly; and possibly not. Anyhow, Servilia's vindictive memories did not prevent her half-brother and son from joining Pompey in 49.

SOPHOCLES, *OEDIPUS REX* 1271-4

IN an article in the July 1959 issue of the *American Journal of Philology*, Mr. William Calder III offers two suggestions for the interpretation of ll. 1271-4 of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, one concerning the reference of *νῦν* in 1271, and the other, the reference of *οὗς μὲν* and *οὗς δὲ* in 1273 and 1274.

Calder wants *νῦν* to refer to Jocasta, and renders, '... that they would not see her nor such things as she was wont to experience nor what sort of evils she was wont to do ...'. He argues that *νῦν* cannot be Oedipus because the same pronoun, as object to *ὀπάει*, referred to Jocasta six lines earlier, and because Oedipus' eyes 'are not looking at him to start. They are looking at her.'

The translation is not likely whatever *νῦν* refers to. The regular Greek idiom for *not (a) nor (b) nor (c)* is either *οὔτε* thrice (e.g. *οὔτ' ἐκείνην οὔτε ... οὔτε ...*) or *οὐ* followed by *οὐδὲ* twice. There is, it is true, some manuscript evidence for *οὐ ... οὔτε ... οὔτε* in Sophocles where three things are being distinguished;¹ but even if we grant the possibility of this construction in general, it can hardly apply here: *νῦν*, at the end of the line and enclitic, cannot bear any emphasis, and we must accordingly take it as the proleptic subject of the following verbs *ἑπασχεν* and *ἔδρα*, which is surely Oedipus. This is the common 'I know thee who thou art' construction,² and *νῦν* must be left out in translation. 'They shall not see,' Oedipus is reported as having said, 'the awful things I suffered and the awful things I did.'³

This, the correct and traditional interpretation, goes back to Brunck's edition of 1786: 'Est autem οὐκ δῆλοντό νῦν οἷα ἑπασχεν pro οὐκ δῆλοντο οἷα αὐτὸς ἑπασχεν.'⁴ There is no question of Oedipus' eyes seeing him. They see his misfortunes and his crimes. Conspicuous in both groups, as Oedipus utters these lines, is Jocasta. The indefinite plurals *οἷα* and *ὅποια* are part of that rhetoric by which Sophocles has Oedipus elaborate and expand the scope of his disasters (cf. 1402 ff.). That *νῦν* in *ὅπως* (or *ὡς*) *ὀπάει νῦν* l. 1265 refers to Jocasta is nothing to the point.

The second 'matter' is more subtle and has caused more difficulty. The problem is not to conjecture, as Calder does, whom Oedipus has in mind when he says *οὗς μὲν* and *οὗς δὲ*, but to determine the meaning of the whole clause comprising ll. 1273 and 1274. Two things should be obvious at the outset. First, Oedipus' statement is paradoxical: he is not going to see anything at all; second, the dominant and predicative words in the clause are *ἐν σκότῳ*.

The first point immediately disposes of the notion set forth in the Schneidewin-Nauck-Bruhn edition⁵ and approved by Calder, that Oedipus will hence-

¹ Cf. Denniston. *The Greek Particles*², p. 509; and also Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, i. 99. I owe this note to Professor H. Rowell.

² Kühner-Gerth, ii. 577 ff. For the multiplication of negatives, cf. Euripides (*Alexis*?) fr. 322 Nauck.

³ *κακὰ* goes with both verbs, not only with the latter, as Calder. Jebb has 'such horrors as I was suffering and working'. He insists too much on the progressive character of the

verbs. The Greek imperfect is much less progressive than the English *was* + participle. Cf., e.g., Plato, *Protagoras* 314 c 8, d 5.

⁴ So Herwerden, Schneidewin, Jebb. Herwerden, however, cites one 'Firnhaber' ... qui vir doctus tamen cum aliis tum in eo fallitur, quod *νῦν* ad Jocasten spectare putavit'. Calder says that Jebb wanted to translate *νῦν* by *him*. That is not correct.

⁵ Calder says that the S.-N.-B. edition attributes this interpretation to a suggestion

forward (in a figurative sense) see his father and mother. S.-N.-B.: 'Er kann sich ja nur die körperlichen Organe ausreissen, nicht die Fähigkeit des seelischen Schauens; insofern hat er seine Augen immer noch. Sie schauen ein ewiges Dunkel und in diesem den Vater und die Mutter, die er nie hätte schauen sollen. . . .' This is a romantic notion which receives no support either from this passage or from ll. 1371 ff.¹

Oedipus will see nothing, and that is just what the word-order of 1273-4 insists. The predication of a Greek sentence (or clause) generally lies in its opening word or phrase, provided this is substantial enough to bear the emphasis, e.g. is not a relative pronoun. The rest of the clause is comparatively unemphatic, and frequently is what the speaker assumes his listeners already know. In l. 1273, the emphasis on *ἐν σκότῳ* is strengthened by the unstressed adverbial phrase *τὸ λοιπὸν* which follows, and to this there is a close parallel in the same play l. 795:

ἀστροῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκμετρούμενος χθόνα

'Thenceforward I plotted my course by the stars.' Something had guided Oedipus' movements before this; but now it is the stars, i.e. indications of direction opposite to that of Corinth.

So here; Oedipus' eyes had previously, had all along, as he now realizes, seen those whom they ought not to see and failed to recognize those whom he wished to recognize.² Now, he says, they will do this in darkness. Of course they will no longer do so at all. This too was first clearly stated by Brunnck: 'Ut supra v. 419 βλέποντα σκότον, *cernentem caliginem*, tantumdem valet ac cernentem nihil: ita hic ὀπτεσθαι [!] ἐν σκότῳ, *videre in tenebris*, nihil aliud est, quam *non videre*.'

Not quite the same, to be sure, as *non videre*: the paradox of *ἐν σκότῳ* expresses the king's anger at the power of sight that was of no profit to him. And Brunnck's equation leads to an error which several subsequent interpreters, including Calder, share; viz. not to see that *ἐν σκότῳ* must state the condition for both the *μὲν* and the *δὲ* clauses. This is again regular Greek practice. When a *μὲν* . . . *δὲ* antithesis is introduced after the beginning of a sentence or clause, any words preceding the antithesis modify or govern both parts of it. Thus in the same speech of this play ll. 1246-8, Jocasta's antithesis begins with *θάνοι* l. 1247, and *ὕψ' ὧν* at the beginning of the clause l. 1246 goes equally with *θάνοι* and *λίποι*.

Herwerden, for example, quotes what he believes to be the correct translation from Schneidewin's edition: '*in tenebris* . . . *videbitis in posterum*³ eos, quos *videre nunquam debueratis* . . . *neque agnosceitis quos semper agnoscere desiderabam* . . .'. And similarly Mazon in the new Budé edition: ' . . . ainsi les ténèbres leur

of Wilamowitz, but I could find no mention of Wilamowitz in the relevant passage of the 1910 edition. Schneidewin himself apparently had a different view: see above.

¹ The notion of 'seeing' with the mind's eye was not a commonplace to the ancients, as it is to us. *ὁρῶ* commonly meant 'I understand', 'I follow you', but that is something else. The notion probably first appears in the Cave Allegory of Plato (*Resp.* 517c), but here it has behind it the strength of an explicit

metaphor. [Cf. pp. 185 ff. above. Ed.]

² Infinitives to both *ἴδει* and *ἐχρηρίζω* must be supplied from the main verbs which follow them. Calder's translation is herein again inaccurate: ' . . . whom on the other hand they were in the habit of desiring they would not know.' When *ἐχρηρίζω* means to *desire* a person or a thing, it takes the genitive.

³ *in posterum* (from Brunnck) is right; for the *rest* (of time) (Calder) is wrong.

défendront-elles de voir désormais ceux que je n'eusse pas dû voir, et de connaître ceux que, malgré tout, j'eusse voulu connaître!' And Calder: 'Never will he know such parents' (Schneidewin apparently took the words οὗς δὲ . . . γνωσοίατο as independent of the rest of the sentence; Mazon either does the same, and thinks that the οὐ of οὐ γνωσοίατο repeats the idea of ἐν σκότῳ, or else sees that both verbs are subordinate to ἐν σκότῳ, but either overlooks the οὐ or thinks it is pleonastic.)

The honour of finding the correct translation belongs to Peter Dobree, who in his *Adversaria* ii. 33 renders: 'Oculos suos non amplius eos visuros quos videre non debuisset neque praetervisuros quos agnoscere voluisset.'¹

About the identity of the groups οὗς μὲν and οὗς δὲ the most important thing to be said is that they are indefinite. They belong to the same sort of language as the οἱα and ὅποια of the preceding line, and to ask that they be translated into particular persons is to miss the dramatic moment of Oedipus' speech. Oedipus sees his misfortune in huge and general terms. He multiplies it, because he wants to feel the full horror of what he has done, because by making it less particular he can make it more bearable (after his discovery he does not speak of Laius and Jocasta by name), and because he wants to raise it to the dignity of his own suffering.²

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¹ I am quoting Dobree from Herwerden's edition, which cites his translation in order to reject it.

² Cf. [Longinus], *De Sublimitate* 23. 2-3.

HOMER AND MODERN ORAL POETRY: SOME CONFUSIONS

ONE of the curious things about Homeric studies is the way in which, although opinions in this field fluctuate violently, from time to time certain among them tend to become crystallized for no particular reason and are then accepted as something approaching orthodoxy. It is to try to delay such a crystallization, if it is not already too late, that I direct this brief *coup d'œil* at some current opinions on whether Homer—for the sake of clarity I apply this name in the first instance to the monumental composer of the *Iliad*—used the aid of writing, and in general at the value of comparative inferences based on the heroic poetry of modern Yugoslavia.

There is little point in tracing this question back to Wolf and beyond, partly because it has been done so often before but mainly because, since Parry's demonstration that the Homeric poems bear all the marks of oral composition, the situation has substantially altered. Parry himself assumed that the poems were completely oral, since they so thoroughly exemplify the formular economy and scope of a well-developed oral tradition. This is a very reasonable opinion to which, until a few years ago, most critics who take an interest in such matters seem to have formally subscribed.

In 1952, however, H. T. Wade-Gery in *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge, 1952) argued that the alphabet was adapted to its Greek form for the specific purpose of recording heroic poetry, and that this innovation made the Homeric poems possible; and Sir Maurice Bowra in his useful book *Heroic Poetry* (London, 1952) proposed that Homer was a brilliant oral poet who subsequently learned the new technique of writing and thus was able to compose a poem of the size and richness of the *Iliad*. Of these two theories the latter is the less vulnerable; but what is common to them both is the assumption that no oral poet could have composed an *Iliad* or *Odyssey* without the aid, somehow employed, of writing. In other words these scholars accepted the theory of a well-developed oral tradition, but combined it with the old belief that such long and complex poems must somehow have been written out, in this case by or at the instance of a singer who lived at the crucial time when the new form of writing was just becoming available.

In the following year Bowra's suggestion was pertinently criticized by Parry's able helper and continuator, A. B. Lord. In his article 'Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts', *T.A.P.A.* lxxxiv (1953), 124-34, Lord argued that the comparative study of oral epic, especially in Parry's chosen field of Yugoslavia, made it quite clear that to introduce an oral poet to the art of writing is usually fatal to his art, and at the very least alters the quality of his poetry for the worse and destroys some of its characteristic oral features. He loses spontaneity and his verses become portentous and stilted. Therefore Homer, whose verse was not like this, cannot have taken to writing.

This contention, which was restated by E. R. Dodds in his well-balanced survey in *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1954), at p. 14, I am prepared to accept absolutely. It seems unlikely that Bowra's theory is tenable. For in spite of the huge difference in quality between even the best of the

South Slavic bards and Homer—and it is a difference which we must never overlook, and one which makes some comparative inferences highly misleading—the essential elements of an adequate oral technique remain common to both. These consist of an exceptional verbal and rhythmic memory and complete familiarity with a large and varied stock of standard or formulaic phrases and themes. The impact of writing, and as a consequence of deliberate as opposed to spontaneous and semi-automatic verse-making, on any true oral poet, whatever the artistry and complexity of his particular tradition, can be assumed to be highly deleterious to these essential oral qualities; and has proved to be so in the studies made by Parry and Lord in Yugoslavia and by other field-workers elsewhere. Even if a poet trained in the oral technique might exceptionally succeed in transforming his approach so as to be able to write successful poetry, it is virtually certain that what he wrote would show a marked relaxation of the economy of the oral formulaic system, together with a corresponding increase in non-formular material and in the gratuitous variation of traditional fixed phrases. There is no such relaxation in Homer. For in spite of the extreme subtlety of the uses to which he puts the formulaic apparatus, the fact remains, as Parry showed and as for example D. L. Page (in *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley, 1959) has recently confirmed, that in the *Iliad* and also in the *Odyssey* a very large number of crystallized formulas are employed with an astonishing economy and lack of unnecessary variation. This suggests strongly, indeed almost imperatively, that the oral technique was used in full and undiminished degree for the main act of composition of each of the two monumental poems.

In place of the theory suggested by Bowra Lord in the article cited advanced another suggestion which has won rather wide acceptance, at least in the country of its origin. His theory still rests on the assumption common to Wade-Gery and Bowra, that the complexity of the Homeric poems presupposes the aid of writing in some form. The theory is that the monumental composer was a true oral poet, but that he must have gained the advantages of writing, without the unacceptable disadvantages, by dictating his poetry to a literate accomplice. That dictation can be successfully carried out by some oral poets is proved by experiments in Yugoslavia. Many of the songs in Parry-Lord, *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs* (S.C.H.S.), vol. i (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), are dictated. They were dictated to Parry's assistant Nikola Vujnović, who wrote them down and who helped to improve them by pointing out inconsistencies and metrical anomalies as they occurred. Usually though not invariably these dictated texts are more accurate and slightly fuller than the sung versions which were recorded by phonograph. Yet it must be remembered that the examples in question were written out by an educated and highly intelligent scribe familiar with the principles and practice of oral poetry and often prompted by Parry himself. There is no question, however, of Nikola having put words or ideas into the poet's mouth; and that dictation can be done in less favourable conditions is shown by a remark of the heroic singer Salih Ugljanin, S.C.H.S., p. 383: '... once I saw a man from Plav who had such interest to learn a song when some singer sang it that he wrote it down and took it and read it to them in Plav. He learned it and sang it.' There is also the case of the short (990 lines) and mediocre Cretan song of Daskaloyannes, described most recently by J. A. Notopoulos in *A.J.A.* lxxiii (1952), 225 ff. This was composed by the illiterate cheese-maker Pantzelió and dictated in 1786 to a simple but literate shepherd

called Sephes, who fortunately appended a verse epilogue describing the whole procedure. In cases like these there is of course no means of knowing whether the dictated version is better than the ordinary sung version.

The publication by A. B. Lord of Avdo Medjedović's 12,000-line version of 'The wedding of Smailagić Meho', in vol. iii of *S.C.H.S.*, together with the singer's recorded commentary on his poem, is awaited with eagerness for many reasons. We shall certainly then learn more about the technique of a modern oral poet. We may find out more about the extent to which in dictated texts the material already dictated may be used as a means of controlling what is still to come. Yet it seems doubtful whether this or any other modern experiment will be able to illustrate in any satisfactory and convincing way those deliberate processes of checking, revision, cross-reference, and rearrangement which I suppose to be implied for Homer by scholars like Bowra, Lord, and Wade-Gery. In fact Lord, who was of course already completely familiar with Avdo's *tour de force*, stated on p. 133 of his article that dictation 'is an opportunity for the singer to show his best, not as a performer, but as a story-teller and a poet. He can ornament his song as fully as he wishes and is capable; he can develop his tale with completeness, he can dwell lovingly on passages which in normal performance he would often be forced to shorten because of the pressure of time or because of the restlessness of the audience. The very length of the Homeric poems is the best proof that they are the products of the moment of dictation rather than that of singing. The leisureliness of their tempo, the fullness of their telling, are also indications of this method. The poetic moments of the tradition, used perhaps sparingly in normal performance, accumulate to provide that richness of poetry which Bowra feels suggests writing.' Lord's opinion on the subject of dictation is of great importance, and his point that the poet who dictates is free from the exigencies of a large audience and a particular occasion is a good one; but the rest of what he says here seems to amount to little more than an expression of the feeling that a long and complex poem implies the aid of writing. There is certainly no intrinsic reason, for example, why 'leisureliness of . . . tempo' must suggest dictated rather than normal oral poetry. There is little here or elsewhere in Lord's article to support his conjecture that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were oral dictated texts. Even though he tells us that in Yugoslavia dictation tends to produce a 'better' poem, yet it does not by any means follow that the same is true for a poet of altogether different calibre, working at a different stage of oral development, and supported by a tradition immeasurably finer and richer, such as Homer was. In short we must beware of an argument that unconsciously runs something like this: 'In Yugoslavia dictated songs are usually superior to those given in ordinary oral performances; therefore all supreme oral epics must be dictated.'

Lord's theory that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are oral dictated texts arises from his conviction, first expressed with some suddenness on p. 129 of his article, that although 'Homer . . . did not need writing to be a creative poet in his tradition', yet 'it must be true that he lived in an age when writing existed and was developed to such a point that the *Iliad* could be written down. It was probably the age of transition from oral to written technique in literature.' This conviction seems, as we have seen, to be based on the length and complexity of the Homeric poems, and not on assumptions about Homer's date and that of the introduction of alphabetic writing. But Lord's hypothesis, which, whether

right or wrong, is a useful contribution to the problem, is used as a premiss by Sterling Dow in an inference about the date of Homer—for Dow the monumental composer of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. For in a survey of Homeric studies in *Classical Weekly*, xlix (1956), 116 ff., Dow accepted the late-eighth-century date for the introduction of alphabetic writing in Greece advanced by Rhys Carpenter in *A.J.A.*, xxxvii (1933), 8 ff., and assumed that, since the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must have been oral dictated texts, then they must have been composed in the seventh century B. C. This argument rests on two dubious assumptions: first that the alphabet is quite as late as Carpenter thought, and secondly that the poems were dictated. On the first point, Carpenter's article was a valuable reaction against the tendency to place the introduction of the alphabet back in the tenth or early ninth century; but the discovery of new material, notably the Ischia cup (*Accademia dei Lincei: Rendiconti*, 10 [Series viii], [1955], 215 ff.; *C.R.*, n.s. vi [1956], 95 ff.), and the reassessment of some of the older material have confirmed that writing was being used in different parts of the Greek world for quite casual purposes by the last quarter of the eighth century B. C., and was presumably known in places even before this. The second point has already been called into question. Over against both these dubious assumptions there is a not inconsiderable body of evidence to suggest that the *Iliad*, at least, reached something like its present form before the end of the eighth century; one may cite, for example, the extreme improbability of Homer's personality and birthplace having been so thoroughly obscured if he was in fact a near-contemporary of Archilochus.

Confused enough already, the situation is still further complicated by a fact that requires extremely careful evaluation. It is briefly stated by Sterling Dow on p. 117 of the review-article already cited: 'Verbatim oral transmission of a poem composed orally and not written down is unknown'.¹ This proposition is primarily based upon a fuller discussion by Bowra in his book *Heroic Poetry*, pp. 368 ff., where we read that a heroic poem 'once composed and recited is

¹ G. L. Huxley, to whom I am indebted for his helpful comments on this paper, has pointed out that there are grounds for ascribing a far higher degree of accuracy in oral transmission to the *Rigveda* than to any European poem whose history can be reconstructed. Wackernagel, for example, concluded that despite certain deficiencies 'darf die Überlieferung des RV als einzigartig treu bezeichnet werden' (*Altindische Grammatik* [Göttingen, 1896], xii f.). The situation is complex, and the history of the *Rigveda* before its codification by the diasceuaic schools is in large measure impossible to reconstruct. Even the date of this codification is unknown; it was long after the composition of the earlier hymns, which may provisionally be placed in the sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C., but it was also many centuries before the first written text, the earliest indication of which points to the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The transmission over the intervening period, as in the pre-codification period, was exclusively oral, and an 'extraordinary fidelity', to use Renou's phrase, was

guaranteed by special precautions on the part of the original diasceuaists as well as by the religious veneration in which the details of the text were held. On all this one may consult with profit L. Renou and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique* (Paris, 1947), i, pp. 270-8 and especially §§ 515-20, 530-5; for referring me to this and other sources I am most grateful to Professor W. S. Allen. Verbal accuracy in the transmission of the *Rigveda* was greatly aided by its sacrosanct character; but this need not diminish its implications for the possibility or impossibility of verbatim oral transmission, to the assessment of which the Vedic poetry is directly relevant. Classical scholars and students of the oral epic require the help of expert Vedists in this extremely difficult field; and in particular one may ask for attention to be given to the distinction between verbal and syntactical accuracy within the verse on the one hand, and accuracy in the preservation of an original order of verses and themes on the other.

usually lost, unless by some rare chance someone writes it down. None the less the same story will be told again and again, in slightly different forms, by the same bard and by other bards, and may in these conditions have a life of many centuries. 'We may therefore speak of the transmission of poems, though it is not actual poems which are transmitted but their substance and technique.' Modern oral poetry confirms that there is much truth in this. Yet it is important to gauge how great, or how small, may be the possible divergence from the original in any attempted repetition of a song either by the same singer or by a different one. It will be easier to judge this question, so far as modern oral poetry is concerned, when the complete Parry-Lord collection has eventually been published. On the evidence provided by the first volume, however, we see clearly that it is the aim of the best singers in the Novi Pazar region to reproduce exactly each song that they hear. Thus Demail Zogić (conversation C, *S.C.H.S.* i. 239 ff.) says that the best thing is for the singer to sing 'as he heard it and as things happen'; of the two vices, omission and elaboration, the former is preferable. At one point Demail admits that exact repetition is impracticable: '... it is impossible to find two singers who can sing a song through clearly from beginning to end, but one will make a mistake, or will add something'; this is explained as due to carelessness or over-ambition. Normally Demail believed that exact repetition by the same singer was possible as well as desirable, as is shown in the following recorded conversation (op. cit., pp. 240 f.): 'N: So then, last night you sang a song for us. . . . How many times did you hear it before you were able to sing it all the way through exactly as you do now? D: Here's how many times I heard it. One Ramazan I engaged this Suljo Makić . . . I heard him one night in my coffee house. I wasn't busy. I had a waiter and he waited on my guests, and I sat down beside the singer and in one night I picked up that song. I went home, and the next night I sang it myself. . . . That singer was sick, and I took the gusle and sang the whole song myself, and all the people said "We would rather listen to you than to that singer whom you pay." N: Was it the same song, word for word, and line for line? D: The same song, word for word, and line for line. I didn't add a single line, and I didn't make a single mistake.' Slightly later Demail claims that: 'If I were to live for twenty years, I would sing the song which I sang for you here today just the same twenty years from now, word for word.' It was in fact seventeen years later and not twenty when Lord returned to record this same song, 'Alija rescues Alibey's children', from the same singer. Demail did not succeed in justifying his claim. Unfortunately it was impossible to include the translation of this latter version in the first volume of *S.C.H.S.*, but on pp. 409 ff. Lord summarizes the differences from the version of seventeen years earlier. They seem on the whole to be comparatively minor differences, involving the occasional substitution of one formula or line for another and the addition or subtraction of a number of incidental themes. Lord lists twenty-three alterations of various degrees of importance in a song of which the later version was something over 1,430 lines long and some sixty lines longer than the earlier version.

All this may make us more cautious about the kind of conclusion we draw from Sterling Dow's generalization that '*Verbatim* oral transmission of a poem composed orally and not written down is unknown'. Among simple singers like Demail exact repetition is certainly unknown—though it nevertheless remains their ideal—partly because they pick up songs so incredibly quickly.

Demail himself could acquire a new song in an evening. Another singer, Salih Ugljahnin, described how he learnt to sing heroic songs when he was a boy (*S.C.H.S.* i, 60): 'I began to sing once with the shepherds, and afterwards I kept on and sang at gatherings.' A third bard, Sulejman Makić, gave this account (*op. cit.*, p. 263): 'I heard that Arif Karalješak was a good singer, and I was small, fifteen years old, and I brought him to my house and kept him for a year. He sang and I listened, until I had learned.' The initial learning, in boyhood, takes longer, but when the singer has built up a repertoire he can remember a new song sometimes after only one hearing. Thus a later part of the recorded interview with Sulejman went as follows (pp. 265 f.): '*N*: Listen, you were able to remember songs when you were a boy . . . could you still pick up a song today? *S*: I could. *N*: For example, if you heard me sing a song, let's say, could you pick it up right away? *S*: Yes, I could sing it for you right away the next day. *N*: If you were to hear it just once? *S*: Yes, by Allah, if I were to hear it only once to the gusle.' He then explains that he likes to brood on a song when he has heard it: 'It has to come to one. One has to think . . . how it goes, and then little by little it comes to him, so that he won't leave anything out.' This almost certainly means that he thinks over the song as he has heard it, but in terms of his own formulaic vocabulary which may differ slightly from that of the other singer. In this way he learns it, though probably under a slightly different form. In addition his own form of the song varies somewhat every time he recites it.

It is curious how these Yugoslav singers, under questioning, are unanimous in saying that the ideal is to 'sing it as it actually happened', and yet do not seem to make much effort to achieve uniformity from recitation to recitation. One has to remember that they are unsophisticated and often rather muddled by anything in the nature of a complex question about their technique. But it seems to transpire that they *do* seek to reproduce the songs they have learnt as exactly as possible, though by our literate standards this is not very exact. They simply do not see, unless it is drawn directly to their attention by someone like Lord or Parry, that it makes a difference whether in a certain context a hero's saddle-bag, for example, is just described as a saddle-bag or whether it becomes the occasion for a short formulaic digression in which the material and decoration of the saddle-bag are carefully designated. Also there is a very marked thematic similarity between many of the songs they know, so that the temptation to transpose material from one song to another is quite high. When Sulejman Makić was told that Salih Ugljanin claimed to know a hundred songs, this was his reaction (*op. cit.*, p. 265): 'He lies. He doesn't know real songs. Parts of songs perhaps, but not a whole song. *N*: What do you mean by a real song? *S*: Well, it's like this, to sing it all the way through at one time; he confuses them, you know. He leaves things out, and he doesn't finish them. As for a hundred songs, a hundred good songs, he's lying . . .'

There is little doubt that it would not be beyond the phenomenal mnemonic capacity of these singers to reproduce a song exactly, or almost exactly, time after time, if they felt that this degree of verbal accuracy were really important and if they realized that their own versions, which they often take as exact reproductions of their model, were subject to considerable variation. It is their professed ideal to achieve verbatim precision, but because of the formulaic system and the local tradition of hundreds of relatively short songs, many of them thematically similar, they normally do not try very hard to achieve this

ideal or indeed perceive that they are falling below it. The small proportion of the Parry-Lord recordings so far published has not yet brought to light a singer who lived in the particular circumstances which I would maintain might produce, even in Yugoslavia, a notably more precise oral transmission. The ideal would be a singer of exceptional *local* pre-eminence and fame, from whom other singers in the same region learn their craft and virtually the whole of their repertoire without much influence from other quarters. The pupils of this master would thus acquire his formular vocabulary, or at least a part of it, and no other; for different regions tend to produce slightly different formulas for the same thing, so that most singers, who gather songs from any good singer they may come across, are exposed to considerable formular variation. Further, the special veneration in which the master would be held would encourage his pupils to keep as closely as they could to his very words—a motive for accuracy which only applies within a strictly localized tradition. There would be plenty of old men in the audience to point out when a younger singer departed from the version of the master. If these conditions were to operate, then it seems that we might find a standard of accuracy in oral transmission which came much closer to being complete. No such ideal conditions will now be found, at least in Europe, but it is possible that some districts will prove better than Novi Pazar in this respect. Unfortunately the famous singer tends to move around, as did Čor Huso. He was a bard who won great repute in the latter part of the nineteenth century and whose name is revered even now. The most talented of the singers described in *S.C.H.S.* i, Salih Ugljanin, learned ten songs from him in a month (p. 61). There may be examples of these songs among those recorded by Parry, though Salih was old and his memory on this point erratic; but in any event our ideal conditions are not met, because Salih learned songs from all and sundry and must have acquired a very mixed formular vocabulary, while Huso himself did not stay in one district but travelled even as far as Vienna. In answer to the question 'What was he, what was his trade, what did he do?' Salih answered as follows (*loc. cit.*): 'Nothing, he had no trade, nothing but his horse and his arms, and he went about the world. He was blind in one eye and his clothes and arms were of the finest. And he went thus from town to town and sang to everybody to the gusle.' What we want is a singer with a *local* pre-eminence as great as Huso's national pre-eminence, in a remote and inbred region. The later volumes of Parry-Lord may provide an approximation to such a one; if so, his songs must be studied with special care to see if they do in fact reveal a greater-than-average verbal accuracy.

It seems to me that scholars like Bowra, Lord, and Dow have made the mistake of making inferences directly from the details of modern Yugoslav poetry, or other less carefully studied oral poetry, to the poetry of Homer. I have pointed out that even in Yugoslavia, where on the evidence of the poets of Novi Pazar great accuracy of transmission is not generally found, possible conditions could be imagined—and were much likelier to exist a century ago than in the 1930's or today—in which the standard of verbal accuracy would be rather high. Complete verbal accuracy is even now the ideal, and when life was more narrowly regional that ideal was likely to be more successfully achieved. But whatever the truth may here be, the direct equivalence with Homeric poetry is bound to be misleading. The powers of memory of the Greek *aoidos* can have been no less than those of his modern Yugoslav equivalent;

but his formular equipment and his imaginative and dramatic capacities must have been far superior. There are three factors in particular which must have favoured a greater standard of verbal accuracy in the transmission of ancient Greek oral poems. The first is the scope, complexity, and economy of the formular system—the qualities which Parry himself first conclusively demonstrated. There is no doubt that the traditional language of the Greek oral poets was much more highly organized, as it was much richer, than that of any modern oral poet of whom we know. The Yugoslav singer has a large quantity of standardized thematic material available, and some of this material is expressed in more or less fixed formular language; there are many fixed epithets and repeated lines and half-lines, but there is nothing like the rigid formular structure of the Homeric *aidos*, by far the greater part of whose phraseology, judging by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, was traditional. The second factor is the much greater metrical rigidity of the Homeric hexameter. The South-Slavic heroic poetry is composed in loose decasyllabic lines which are sung to an intricate repeated melody from the violin-type instrument called the *gusle*. The musical accompaniment provides rhythmical stability, and allows the rhythm of the words themselves to be treated with considerable flexibility. By contrast the Homeric line has a fixed metrical pattern based on quantity; and, while virtually nothing is known about its musical accompaniment on the *phorminx*, it is highly probable that this was much less complex than that of the *gusle*. Its chief purposes, I would conjecture, were emphasis and diversion and not the regulation of rhythm, which was adequately controlled by the highly formalized rules of the hexameter verse itself. Now both these kinds of rigidity, formular and metric, are likely to increase the degree of verbal accuracy in the reproduction of Greek oral poetry as opposed to Yugoslav. How much they would increase it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty, especially in the complete absence of modern comparative material which has the fixity of the Homeric poetry. But I would guess that the increase of verbal accuracy would be very marked indeed. The third factor is that the Homeric poems came at the end of the true oral tradition, so that their oral transmission depended for much of its course not on singers but on reciters or rhapsodes. More about these will be found on pp. 280 f., but here it is relevant to remark that their abandonment of the *phorminx*, originally an aid to creative composition, shows that their methods and ideals were different from those of *aidoi* or singers. Greater verbal accuracy may well have been a product of these differences.

In sum it is hard to see any imperative reason why poetry of the Homeric type should not have been transmitted from singer to singer to reciter with only small verbal changes. As for thematic changes—the addition or omission of minor incidents, which forms an important part of the fluidity of the Yugoslav tradition—it may be conjectured that here too the Greek oral tradition, at any rate by the time of Homer, was more highly organized than any modern equivalent. The Trojan theme had presumably gained a pre-eminent position, and judging from the references to other epic subjects within the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* these were relatively restricted in scope and geographical location; thus there was poetry about the wars at Thebes, about local struggles in Elis and Pylos, about the deeds of Heracles, about the Argonautic expedition, and probably about various divine exploits. There must have been many other regional subjects for oral poetry which find no explicit mention in the great monumental poems, but nevertheless I think most scholars would agree that

the impression to be gained from the Homeric poems is that the traditional subject-matter of Greek epic was by the ninth or eighth century B.C. more fixed, more compartmentalized, less fluid than that of the Yugoslav singers. If this is so, it would again drastically reduce the amount of expected deviation in the attempted reproduction of oral epics.

The conclusion is that we must withhold credence from generalizations like the following: 'We may therefore speak of the transmission of poems, though it is not actual poems which are transmitted but their substance and technique' (Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, p. 368). This may be true, up to a point, of the South-Slavic epic, but it is not certainly or even probably true of the Homeric epic. There is no compelling reason from the point of view of transmission why the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, once they gained wide repute, as they presumably did in the lifetime of their monumental composers, should not have been handed down from singer to singer with only comparatively minor deviations. The first official written version of the poems was probably made in Athens in the sixth century B.C. If this is true, and if the *Iliad* was composed, as most of the evidence suggests, in the course of the eighth century, then we are required to accept that the poems survived for about six generations mainly in the oral tradition. I do not see why this should be impossible or improbable: nobody in his senses thinks that the poems did *not* undergo some degree of rearrangement, omission, and elaboration during this period, and that is precisely what we should expect from oral transmission even in the comparatively rigid conditions of the Greek tradition. The argument put forward by Lord and enthusiastically accepted by Dow, that the poems must have been written down as soon as they were composed because otherwise they could not have been transmitted, is fallacious and must be absolutely rejected as it stands.

This brings me to an important final point. This is that most Homeric scholars have come to think of the South-Slavic singers as being lesser equivalents of the Homeric *aoidos*. That may be so in some instances, but it is certainly not so in the case of the singers from around Novi Pazar who can be studied in detail in *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, i. These men are not the equivalent of Homeric *aoidoi*, because the *aoidos* is a creative singer and these men are non-creative reproducers. One must be careful to understand what these terms imply in an oral tradition. I say that the Homeric singer is creative in the sense that Phemios and Demodokos, the bards described in the *Odyssey*, are at times creators of new songs, though doubtless with the aid of the usual traditional stock of words, phrases, lines, short passages, and themes. 'Homer' was certainly creative in this sense, though on a far more impressive scale and with a new dramatic purpose. But apart from monumentality and dramatic power, Homer must have been creating almost continuously in the sense of forming new lines out of formulaic phrases, or new passages to connect traditional passages and to supply fresh or more complex incidents. What he accomplished was creation within the framework of a formalized oral tradition, a process which some critics have curiously felt to be derogatory of his powers and his product. Any creative oral poet does this kind of thing, though no other oral poet has ever done it with the brilliance of Homer. From this oral *creativity* we must carefully distinguish the mere *variation* or *contamination* of the poets of Novi Pazar. Enough has been said already to show that in these cases there is considerable interchange of passages between the different songs in the repertoire of any one singer. Each singer thinks that he sings a song exactly as he learnt

it and 'exactly as it happened', and he thinks it good and right to do so; but in fact he unconsciously omits a line here and there, or even a minor theme or digression, on some occasions when he sings the song, and he also adds lines or short passages of elaboration which belong more regularly to other songs in his repertoire. This kind of variation is a product of the oral technique, especially of the loose kind of technique that we find in most surviving traditions of oral poetry. It is not creative; the added lines or passages, for example, have not been constructed out of smaller oral components by the singer himself to suit a special purpose, they are lines or passages which he learnt from another singer, originally in connexion with a different song, and they are switched temporarily and unconsciously to a similar context in the song which he now sings.

It is obvious that there is a certain overlapping of terms in this assessment of oral originality: it could be argued that there is a small element of creativity in this kind of transposition, just as there is an element of predetermination in the Homeric creativity; but I think that in its broad lines the distinction I have outlined is real and significant. The fact is that the Novi Pazar singers have learnt their songs from older singers, and they muddle them up a bit; only one of them claims to have invented a song of his own, and in general they make it perfectly clear that they can only extend their repertoire by committing to memory a song learned from another singer. The quality of the exception confirms the validity of the general rule; for the short song about the war against the Greeks which Salih Ugljanin admitted, rather reluctantly, to having composed, is of extremely poor quality and only comes to life when it incorporates traditional themes, which it does at the slightest opportunity: see *S.C.H.S.* i. 119-21 and 370.

The Novi Pazar singers are in most respects not like Homeric *aidoi*, they are like post-Homeric *rhapsōdoi* or rhapsodes. In the Greek context it seems justified to draw a distinction between the creative oral poetry of the Homeric *aidoi* and the reproductive oral poetry of the later *rhapsōdoi* who recited well-known songs, chiefly the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The *aidos* accompanies himself on the *phorminx*, a lyre-like instrument whose purpose I suppose to have been to provide emphasis and conceal gaps or hesitations rather than to set a rhetorical pattern; the rhapsode's appurtenance is the staff, an aid to rhetorical emphasis in recitation. In Greece there are reasons for believing that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* came very near the end of the creative oral tradition. The introduction of writing, and the supremacy of the monumental poems themselves, no doubt hastened the decline of creative oral poetry. The first we hear of rhapsodes places them in the post-Homeric, literate era, and they are particularly associated with the recitation of the Homeric poems; Pindar called the Homeridae, somewhat ambiguously, *πατρῶν ἐπέων αἰδοί* (*Nem.* 2, 1 f.). I have suggested earlier that the greater complexity and formalization of the Homeric tradition may have given the rhapsodes, prone to expansion as some were, greater verbal accuracy than their modern Yugoslav counterparts.

I believe that the close study of a modern oral tradition is, as Parry thought, a valuable aid to our understanding of the conditions in which the Homeric poems were composed. The Yugoslav oral tradition is a fruitful one, and it has already helped to establish many of Parry's initial inductions as credible and indeed certain. It can tell us, therefore, much about the methods and tendencies of the Homeric *aidos*. But it probably will not show us precisely

how the *aoidos* created oral poetry, as opposed to rearranging it, partly because most if not all of the modern Yugoslav singers appear to be non-creative. Avdo Medjedović may turn out to be an exception. When his monumental poem is published it will be of great importance to see whether he was simply throwing in reserves, as it were, from a large repertoire of other songs, so as to expand the familiar themes of the wedding of Smailagić Meho; or whether he was rearranging and combining traditional features to such an extent, and with such a completely new result, that he could be called creative in the sense in which many *aoidoi* of the Homeric tradition must have been. Again one is aware of the limitations of the distinction between 'creative' and 'reproductive' in an oral tradition; there is a continuous line from one to the other, and in any event I should expect Avdo to be further along that line than Salih Ugljanin and the other singers from Novi Pazar. But it seems to have been completely overlooked so far, and is essential to recognize for the future, that a substantial part at least of the Yugoslav poetry is closer to what was recited by the Greek rhapsodes than to what was sung by the creators of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Obviously the two situations, ancient and modern, do not exactly match: the rhapsodes, who had abandoned a musical accompaniment, were further away from the creative tradition, in quality but not in time, than the Yugoslav guslars of Novi Pazar. The Greek tradition passed with astonishing and probably unique rapidity from its highest point to complete decline. The Yugoslav tradition, as seen in the Novi Pazar singers, is at a stage which cannot be exactly paralleled in what we know of Greek poetry, though it is an invaluable guide to what might have happened at a certain period—a stage in which the oral tradition is still 'alive', in that poetry is learned by Lards who make use of the formular technique of memory, but is moribund to the extent that the creative stage lies in the past. Some new poetry may be made on modern subjects, but in a debased style only distantly related to that developed in the old heroic tradition. On this and other questions there is much fresh evidence to be published. In the meantime it will be prudent for Homeric scholars to remember that inferences based on modern oral traditions must be founded on a more careful assessment of the true nature of those traditions than has been made up to now; and in particular that the difference in sheer excellence between Homer and any modern oral poet whatever may imply technical distinctions not of corresponding but at least of significant magnitude.

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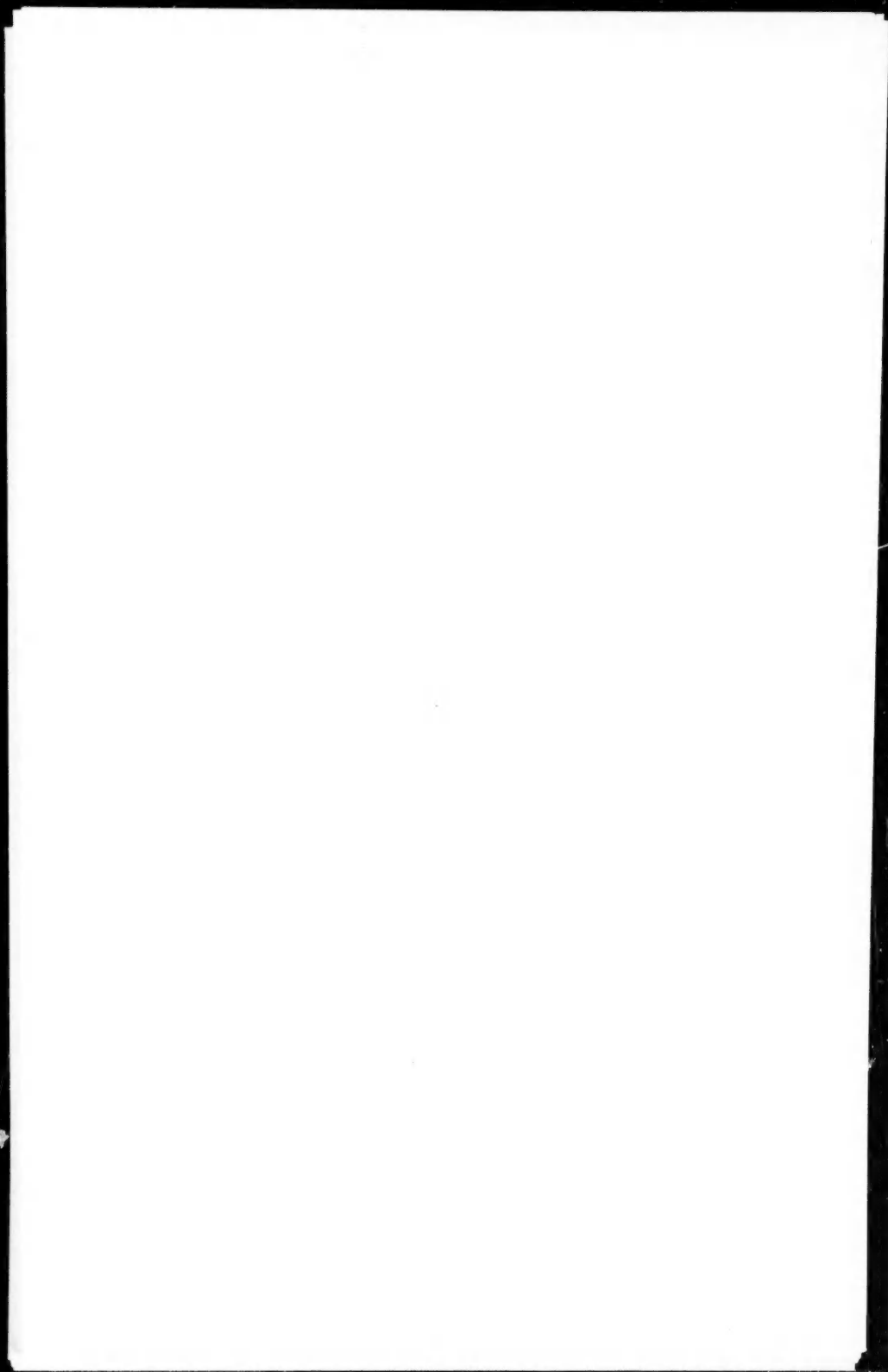
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2. **References.** These should be in the following form:

(a) *To ancient authorities:*

Thuc. 3. 21
Pind. *Nem.* 6. 2
Tac. *Ann.* 3. 21. 1
Plin. *N.H.* 17. 169

(For suitable abbreviations Liddell-Scott-Jones's *A Greek-English Lexicon* and Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary* may be consulted.)

(b) *To modern authorities:*

- (i) *Books:* Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, i, 165 ff.
Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* i. 344-5.
Bell, *The Latin Dual and Poetic Diction*, pp. 264-78.
(ii) *Journals:* E. Fraenkel, 'The Culex', *J.R.S.* xlii (1952), 1-9.
but E. Fraenkel (*J.R.S.* xlii [1952], 1-9).

(For suitable abbreviations Marouzeau's *L'Année philologique* may be consulted.)

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